

SENATE—Tuesday, December 15, 1987

The Senate met at 11 a.m., and was called to order by the Honorable BOB GRAHAM, a Senator from the State of Florida.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray:

O Lord, thou hast searched me, and known me. Thou knowest my down-sitting and mine uprising, thou understandest my thought afar off. Thou compasses my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways.—Psalm 139:1-3.

Omniscient God, the psalmist reminds us that You know the hearts of all of us. From You we have no secrets. To You our motives are clearly understood. As this final week of work begins, cleanse us, and renew a right spirit within us. This past week was exhausting physically, mentally, emotionally. Despite very hard work, there seemed to be little satisfaction with the legislation. There has been much second guessing over the weekend. Some have regretted the position they took—some whose action on the floor was different from brave words in the Cloakroom—some who were intimidated and lacked courage to obey their conscience. Father, relieve the weariness—the discouragement—the frustration—the feeling of disintegration and impotence. As the 1st session of the 100th Congress comes to a close, infuse the Senate with fresh, invigorating optimism and hope. We pray in the name of Jesus whose birthday the world celebrates. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore [Mr. STENNIS].

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, December 15, 1987.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable BOB GRAHAM, a Senator from the State of Florida, to perform the duties of the Chair.

JOHN C. STENNIS,
President pro tempore.

Mr. GRAHAM thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings be approved to date.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

GOD KNOWS OUR THOUGHTS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I am not sure that my perception of the aftermath of the Senate's work of this past week comports with the perception that the Chaplain apparently had, as reflected in his prayer. But I do believe that he touched upon something important to all of us when he spoke of God's knowing our thoughts. We are told in the Scriptures that as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.

I do not think that we can escape God's knowing our thoughts. I believe He is omniscient. If He were not, I think I would lose faith in my own little silent prayers.

I once said to President Carter, "Don't ever call on me to deliver a public prayer, because, if I should, I would concentrate on beautiful words of it, how to phrase it, how to make it a beautifully sounding prayer."

Somebody has to pray in public, but not this Senator. I prefer to do my prayers in private, speaking only to God. If anyone were around, they would not hear me. So I have faith in that ability to communicate with Him through silent prayer. If I did not have that faith, I would not proceed as I do in my feeble efforts to communicate with the Almighty. I think He must be very gracious and merciful even to listen to someone like me. But He does, and He knows my thoughts.

I hold that thoughts are things
Endowed with being, breath, and wings;
And that we send them forth to fill
The world with good results or ill.

That which we call our secret thought
Speeds to the earth's remotest spot,
And leaves its blessings or its woes
Like tracks behind it as it goes.

It is God's law. Remember it
In your still chamber as you sit
With thoughts you would not dare have
known,

And, yet, make comrades when alone.

These thoughts have wings, and they will fly,

And leave their impress, bye and bye,

Like some marsh breeze whose poisoned
breath

Breathes into homes its fevered death.

Then after you have quite forgot,
Or else outgrown some vanished thought,
Back to your mind to make its home,
A dove or raven it will come.

Then let your secret thoughts be fair;
They have a vital part and share
In shaping worlds and molding fate,
God's system is so intricate.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business, not to exceed 30 minutes, with Senators permitted to speak therein for not to exceed 5 minutes each.

The Senator from Wisconsin.

THE SOVIET ECONOMIC POLICY CHANGES—THREAT OR PROMISE?

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, on December 9, General Secretary Gorbachev's closest economic adviser, Abel Aganbegyan, came to my office. He had accompanied Secretary Gorbachev to Washington in connection with the signing of the INF Treaty. I invited Dr. Aganbagyan to meet with several of the members of the Joint Economic Committee to discuss some of the changes underway in Soviet economic policy. Senator SARBANES, the chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, Congressman SCHEUER, also a member of the Joint Economic Committee, and I questioned Dr. Aganbegyan for 1½ hours. The meeting originated with comments Secretary Gorbachev had made about testimony at hearings conducted in September by a subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee that I chair. We directed the inquiries we made of Dr. Aganbegyan at the economic policy changes underway in the Soviet Union.

We first questioned Dr. Aganbegyan about Soviet defense spending. He argued that because of incomplete price information, it was difficult to ascertain the level of defense spending in the Soviet Union. He also said that the statistics the Soviet Union publishes on defense spending were not comprehensive. They did not include, for example, procurement costs, or research and development. When asked how Soviet military spending compared with United States military spending, he responded that it was hard to compare the two because the prices are not comparable. He contended that Soviet military personnel

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

is paid a great deal less than American military personnel, but the prices the Soviet troops have to pay are far less than the prices American troops have to pay. He said that the Government would publish complete defense expenditure information when price reform is completed. When asked if Soviet scholars assess the effects of defense spending on the Soviet economy as is done in the United States, he indicated they did not. However, he did say it might be possible for United States and Soviet scholars to take part in discussions on the economic implications of defense spending in both countries. If experts can discuss the number of missiles, tanks, and planes, why not what they cost?

Dr. Aganbegyan described the spectacular slowdown in the economic growth of the Soviet economy over the past 20 years. He said that nominal national income not corrected for inflation in the Soviet Union grew by an annual rate of about 8 percent between 1966 and 1970. In the next 5 years, growth dropped to 5.3 percent. In the following 5 years, in 1976 to 1980, it fell to about 4 percent; and in the period 1981 through 1985, it fell again to about 3.3 percent. Dr. Aganbegyan said the worst period was 1979-82, when inflation ranged between 2 and 4 percent. If the official figures fully recognized inflation, there was virtually no real economic growth in the Soviet Union in the latter period, that is from 1979 through 1982. He said that official statistical reports, in fact, concealed price increases.

I asked Dr. Aganbegyan to suggest how the United States could increase our trade with the Soviet Union without weakening controls designed to prevent the transfer of military technology. He responded that if we did not export advanced technology to the U.S.S.R., they would be forced to produce their own. He said:

As soon as you imposed your embargo on gas turbines, two plants were set up to produce your turbines and we have no problems. When the United States imposed its ban on large pipes, we started major production with two facilities. If your ban had been kept on for another couple of years, we could have done it. If we can buy something, we will curtail our research and development and we become dependent. The chemical situation is tragic regarding procurement and purchases. Our institutes have gotten into the habit of buying technologies and the need to develop these technologies at home disappears.

Among the other subjects discussed was the opposition to Gorbachev's reforms. Dr. Aganbegyan identified several groups who are opposed to change, including some Government bureaucrats who will lose pay, privilege, and authority, some plant managers who dislike the idea of having to stand for election, and some workers who are unhappy with the new quality and performance standards.

My general impression from this part of the discussion is that it is intended that the economic policy changes will go forward despite the opposition and the knowledge that there will be difficult times ahead for some groups.

At the conclusion of the meeting, I told Dr. Aganbegyan that he had increased our understanding of the Soviet Union, and I hoped that the exchange of views would establish a precedent for the future. Dr. Aganbegyan responded that he would be "very glad if this becomes standard practice."

Dr. Aganbegyan responded to questions in a candid and informative manner. He is articulate and lively and doubtlessly a talented economist. A continuing dialog about the issues we discussed with him and other Soviet experts could be most useful.

Needless to say, this Senator does not buy some of the views expressed by Dr. Aganbegyan. Obviously, the Soviet Union could not only save time and money by securing our military related technology. It could also have more advanced and effective tanks, planes, missiles, command and control systems and cause us to go to great expense in order to maintain our technological lead. There is no way we could justify selling any technology to the Soviet Union that would advance their military strength. On the other hand, there are areas of trade in agriculture and commerce that are clearly non-strategic. Increased trade in these areas could benefit both countries.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Wisconsin has yielded the floor. The majority leader.

SENATOR CONRAD PRESIDES FOR 100 HOURS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, at 9:10 a.m., Friday, December 11, the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. CONRAD] achieved the distinction of presiding over the Senate for 100 hours.

This achievement qualifies Senator CONRAD to receive the Golden Gavel Award. Established to commend Senators who preside for 100 hours in a session of Congress, Senator CONRAD is the first Senator from North Dakota to receive this award.

While the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. CONRAD] came to this body with a distinguished career as the elected tax commissioner of the State of North Dakota, he did not have experience as a member of a legislative body. I must observe that he is a fast learner.

From his arrival in this body, Senator CONRAD has shown great enthusiasm and diligence in learning how the Senate operates. It is obvious that Senator CONRAD has utilized his 100 hours as the Presiding Officer as one

of the methods by which he has rapidly become an effective legislator.

Now that the Senator has gained valuable experience presiding over the Senate, I hope that he will continue to give us the benefit of his ability and will continue to preside for another 100 hours in the 2d session of the 100th Congress.

I congratulate him and I thank him, on behalf of all my colleagues in the Senate.

PROGRAM

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, during this day I know of nothing that will require a rollcall vote. As a matter of fact, I would not anticipate being in for a lengthy session today. I hope that Senate-House conferences can go forward and that conferees can give their full and undivided attention to the matters in conference. I have particular reference to the conference on the reconciliation bill and the conference on the continuing resolution. These are two measures that must be finally passed before the Senate adjourns sine die over until next year. So, there will not be any rollcall votes that will interfere with their work today that I know about. And, as I say, I do not anticipate being in very long.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the period for morning business be extended 1 hour and that Senators may speak therein.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE UNITED STATES SENATE

THE CONTEMPORARY SENATE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, for over 7 years, I have delivered a series of addresses in this Chamber on the history of the U.S. Senate. More recently, at the encouragement of my colleagues, I have consented to the collection and publication of these addresses in commemoration of the Senate's 200th anniversary. Under the sponsorship of the Senate Bicentennial Commission, the first volume will contain 38 of the speeches I have given to date.

In these speeches, I have wanted to share with other Senators, and with all those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, my own awe of this institution, my admiration of the distinguished men and women who have served here, and my enjoyment of the many wonderful stories about Senators and the Senate. I have endeavored to present the Senate's history in

an objective, nonpartisan, lively and meaningful fashion. Now, these were not easy tasks. Objectivity is a goal for which one can aim, but everyone views the past from his own subjective perspective. My heroes might be another person's villains, and the triumphs that I celebrate might be someone else's defeats. As for a nonpartisan account, I have done my best to treat Republicans as fairly as I treated Democrats—and for that matter Federalists, Whigs, Free-Soilers, Know-Nothings, Populists, and Progressives.

To preserve the nonpartisan nature of the series, and to gain some historical perspective, I have emphasized men and events of the distant past rather than the more recent past. Even talking about what took place 10 or 20 years ago, like the Vietnam war or the Watergate scandal, involves issues that still stir political and emotional passions. For those of us who lived through these events, and played some role in them, it is immensely difficult to adopt a dispassionate and objective point of view about them. Still, I hold that it is important for us to try, if we are to learn our lessons from our Nation's past and present, and if we are to apply them to our future.

So now I shall conclude the chronological portion of my history of the U.S. Senate by briefly commenting on the Senate's recent past. I shall make particular reference to relations between the legislative and executive branches under our constitutional system of checks and balances. Earlier, I spoke of the 1974 resignation of President Richard Nixon, in the face of impeachment; now I shall focus on the Senate during the era of Presidents Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan. These times and these men are so recent that they belong more to the realms of journalism and political science than to history, but when we contemplate that there are now in the Capitol and Senate Office Buildings marble and bronze busts of Henry Jackson, Hubert Humphrey, and Gerald Ford, then we realize how fine is the line between ourselves and history.

Mr. President, after the dramatic clash between Congress and Richard Nixon over Watergate and other trappings of the "imperial presidency," the United States entered an era in which Congress reasserted its power and authority. With varying degrees of intensity and success this reassertion continued under the next three Presidents, regardless of their party, and was highlighted most recently in the final report of the Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition.¹

The Watergate crisis brought home to Members of Congress the realization of how unbalanced and unchecked Presidential powers had become. For years, Presidential actions

had circumvented Congress, kept Congress in the dark about major foreign policy initiatives, and frustrated congressional intentions in a wide range of areas from the use of American troops abroad to the spending of Federal funds at home. As a result, the Presidents who followed immediately after the Watergate crisis faced a Congress determined to exert its influence on policy and unwilling to march unthinkingly in step behind Presidential dictation.

This resistance first confronted a President who had come almost directly out of Congress, Gerald R. Ford. A 25-year-veteran of the House of Representatives, Ford had served for a decade as House Republican leader. He knew the institution very well, and he was well liked and respected by its Members. Nevertheless, he had spent all but two of his years in Congress as a member of the minority, and had routinely led the opposition to majority-sponsored initiatives. He would find it a far different task to win enactment of legislation than to block it.

For his part, Ford did all he could to reestablish good relations between the White House and Capitol Hill. Appearing before a joint session shortly after becoming President, he addressed us as "My former colleagues." And he promised that his motto toward Congress would be "communication, conciliation, compromise and cooperation." President Ford had a realistic view of Congress. He liked to recall the words of his Senate counterpart, Everett Dirksen, that "Congress is like a waterlogged scow. It doesn't go fast, but it doesn't sink."

Gerald Ford soon found that Congress looked different when viewed from the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. In his autobiography, "A Time to Heal," Ford wrote: "When I was in the Congress myself, I thought it fulfilled its constitutional obligations in a very responsible way, but after I became President, my perspective changed." Now it seemed to him that Congress had disintegrated as an organized legislative body, that it had become excessively fragmented, and that it too often responded to single-issue special interest groups rather than addressing national problems in a coherent way. Was that so? Perhaps the reality was simply that Ford's program did not appeal to the majority in Congress, and that he was unwilling to accept the majority's program.

President Ford admitted that his program, particularly on economic issues, was similar to President Nixon's, but he believed that while Nixon's "relations with Capitol Hill had been terrible, mine were excellent and I hoped this good will might help get those proposals through."² In fact, the Ford years saw far more conflict than cooperation between the executive and legislative branches. The

Democrats' majorities in both houses of Congress had been strengthened by the post-Watergate elections, and the majority had its own legislative agenda.

Both the Congress and the President were deeply concerned about the sharp recession that the Nation had entered in 1974, but they responded very differently. Congressional Democrats worried about the high levels of unemployment and declining productivity. These problems appeared to trouble President Ford less than did inflation. Thus, when Congress passed social-welfare programs, Ford vetoed them. In his brief 2-year Presidency, Ford vetoed 61 bills. Congress overturned 12 of those vetoes, more overrides than for any President since Andrew Johnson. Yet, many important domestic initiatives came to a dead end on the President's desk.

These vetoes hurt President Ford's campaign for election in his own right, for they put him on record in opposition to issues that a large portion of the electorate favored. The efforts of the Democratic majority in Congress, therefore, helped to boost the chances of the Democratic candidate in 1976. But, while a number of prominent Members of Congress had run for the nomination—men like Henry Jackson, Frank Church, Birch Bayh and Morris Udall—the winning candidate was an "outsider" who ran against the Washington "establishment." Jimmy Carter gave little indication that he recognized the assistance that Congress had given his campaign. In his own memoirs, Carter admitted that, when he came to Washington, he "did not know many of the Senators or Representatives on Capitol Hill and had not spent much time studying about them." This quickly became evident to Members of Congress as well.

President Carter noted that "most of the Democratic members had never served with a President of their own party, and their attitude was one of competition rather than cooperation with the White House." He was technically correct, although the statement is somewhat misleading. In fact, about half of the Democratic Senators—27 out of 61—had served during the Johnson administration, including all of the committee chairmen. While these Senators were veterans of the many skirmishes with the Nixon and Ford administrations, they did have clear expectations about dealing with a President of their own party. From the start, the leadership in both the House and Senate tried very hard to steer President Carter in the right direction if he wished to build a harmonious relationship with Congress.

"Jimmy Carter was the smartest public official I've ever known," former Speaker Tip O'Neill has written in his memoirs, "Man of the

House." But, he added: "When it came to the politics of Washington, DC, he never really understood how the system worked."³ In his own memoirs, "Keeping Faith," President Carter wrote that he "had not been in office a week before the top Democratic leaders in both Houses, Speaker Tip O'Neill and Majority Leader Robert Byrd, were complaining to the press that they were not adequately consulted. It seemed that Congress had an insatiable desire for consultation, which, despite all our efforts, we were never able to meet." Reading on, Carter described the Senate Democratic leader as "strong, able, and proud. . . . Senator Byrd did his homework; he was slow to make a commitment but absolutely trustworthy when he gave his word." And he added: "I paid for my mistake whenever I inadvertently slighted him."⁴

Inadvertent slights were not the problem. The message that the democratic leaders in the Senate and House were trying to get to the Carter White House was about appreciating the institution of Congress and how it works; about working with Congress rather than fighting against it. President Carter came to office with a very ambitious program; he had no patience for delay or deliberation; and he disliked compromising. Instead of focusing his energy and congressional attention on one or two major issues at a time, Carter presented Congress with a host of complex and controversial issues, among them energy, budget, taxes, civil service reform, SALT, and the Panama Canal treaties.

Within a few months after taking office, the President was bristling over congressional amendments to his energy program. At that time I advised Mr. Carter to "cool it just a bit at this stage and let the process work." I considered it unfair for the President to blame committee changes in his bill on industry lobbying, and I pointed out that the most powerful and active lobby with which any committee had to deal was the executive branch. When White House lobbying failed, then Presidents had a habit of making Congress "the butt of unfair criticism."⁵

President Carter relished a good fight and never hesitated to take on powerful chairmen from his own party. High on his agenda was the elimination of many Federal water projects, which he viewed as "pork barrel" wastefulness. "Other recent Presidents, graduates of the congressional system, had looked on the procedure as inviolate," he wrote. "I did not, and dove in head first to reform it." At heart, this was a good cause, for there were, indeed, obsolete and unnecessary projects contained in the bill. But many of these water projects were vitally important to Members' home States and had gained the sup-

port of Senators and Representatives from both parties, of all ideological persuasions. Instead of marshaling his forces against the worst excesses of the pork barrel and building support on a case-by-case basis, Carter leveled his fire at the whole package, thereby alienating more Members than he attracted. President Carter has written that "None of the leaders in either House supported me." But, in fact, it was the leadership that worked out the compromise that enabled the President to grasp at least a partial victory out of the jaws of defeat. The following year, the President did veto the public works bill, and in his memoirs he concedes that "the battle left deep scars."

Too many commentators tend to slight the Carter presidency's legislative accomplishments. They remember only that he was unable to win the major tax reforms he sought, or that he failed to achieve national health insurance, or that his energy program was initially resisted. But his program was extensive and ambitious, and he won more often than he lost. In terms of energy issues, the President saw the creation of a Department of Energy and the Synthetic Fuels Corporation, lifted controls on domestic oil production, and won a "windfall profits tax" on oil production. He won major legislative victories on civil service reform, and on airline deregulation. He won passage of the important but emotionally charged Panama Canal treaties. When he left office, he could be justly proud of his legislative accomplishments. History will be more kind to Mr. Carter than were his contemporaries.

With hindsight, Jimmy Carter has agreed that "it would have been advisable to have introduced our legislation in more careful phases—not in such a rush. We would not have accomplished any more, and perhaps less, but my relations with Congress would have been smoother and the image of undue haste and confusion could have been avoided." Carter also now recognizes that he had asked Members of Congress to take courageous stands on controversial issues with "really little in the list to attract constituents, but much to alienate some of the special interest groups." He recalls how Republican leader Howard Baker said to him: "Mr. President, if I vote right many more times I'm going to lose the next election!"

Speaking of Senator Baker, I considered it most fortunate that he assumed the reins of leadership of his party, and that he served as Republican minority leader during the Carter years. Having followed his father, step-mother, and father-in-law in Congress, he had a deep and abiding understanding and respect for the legislative process. His love of the Senate and of his country came before parti-

san imperatives. He offered a voice of wisdom, moderation, timely compromise, and gentle humor in the cloak-rooms and on the floor. Without his support, we could not have won ratification of the Panama Canal treaties, and he contributed to other important parts of the Carter legislative package. In later years, he served well as Senate majority leader, and most recently he sacrificed his own Presidential campaign to become President Reagan's chief of staff, at a time when mature counsel and moderate leadership in the White House were sorely needed.

Mr. President, reading these recent Presidential memoirs, it seems that each chief executive creates his own myth to explain his failings with Congress. President Carter repeats a popular myth that congressional relations are harder now than in the days when a President had merely to meet with a handful of leaders and committee chairmen to work out a deal, before power became so diffuse. This mythical period is often attributed to the era of Lyndon Johnson—because, I suppose, no one would believe it about the era of Truman, Eisenhower, or Kennedy—but it ignores how hard Lyndon Johnson worked to achieve consensus, how he devised his programs to appeal to the broadest spectrum of Members, and how well he knew that every Member's vote counted, from the leadership to the backbenchers.⁶

Gerald Ford was too much a man of Congress to repeat this myth, but he offered his own "why-Presidents-can't-work-with-Congress-anymore" explanation. Ford's villain is the increased congressional staff. When he first came to the House in 1949, he had three staff members, and now a Member might have dozens, not counting all those committee staff people. These staff members, as the story goes, have become minor powers unto themselves, goading their members into making more grandiose demands on an administration, devising new legislation simply to justify their existence on the swollen staff.

Like any myth, there is an element of truth in the charge, but it ignores the far most explosive expansion of staff within the executive branch during the same era. Just 50 years ago, Congress created the Executive Office of the Presidency, permitting President Franklin D. Roosevelt to hire a half dozen special assistants rather than to rely exclusively on his cabinet departments. Now look at the size of the President's staff. They fill the entire Old Executive Office Building, which in FDR's time housed the Departments of State, War, and Navy. The same new demands on the Government, both nationally and internationally, that required an increase in executive staff, have required expan-

sion of the legislative staff. The fact is that we face issues far larger, far more complex, and in far greater number than those the Federal Government grappled with a half century ago. Increased staff is just the symptom, not the cause of modern governmental problems.⁷

Certainly, there have been major structural changes in the Senate in the years since Watergate. We reorganized our committee system. We changed committee rules to permit a majority to call a committee meeting if the chairman refused, and to permit the minority to call witnesses to testify. We limited the ability of senior Members to take the most desirable committee assignments. We assured every Member of a meaningful committee assignment, and of a chairmanship or ranking minority position on a subcommittee. We passed "sunshine" legislation to open the markup sessions to the press and the public. We provided staff assistance to all committee members. We reduced the number of votes needed for cloture from two-thirds to three-fifths. We tightened the rules on the so-called "post-cloture filibuster." And we opened the Senate's proceedings to television and radio coverage.

Presidents, Senators, lobbyists, journalists, and political scientists will, for years, be debating the effects of these structural reforms, which cannot help but affect the way we do business. Their direction has been toward greater egalitarianism and openness in the legislative process, which we can all endorse. But whether these reforms also influence party discipline is another question. I suspect that these cumulative reforms neither make a President's task easier nor harder. Structure matters less than issues: how issues affect Members in their home States, how persuasive an administration is in selling Congress its position on the issues, how much popular support the President can stimulate for his program, and how well the President can define the national goals.

Many of the problems that commentators ascribed to structural changes in the 1970's became moot after the election of 1980. In that election, Republicans won the Senate for the first time in 26 years. Their narrow margin in the Senate, their minority status in the House, and their new President in the White House all forged a party unity that had been absent during the previous decade. No matter what one might think of the specific items in President Ronald Reagan's program, we may admire the way that that package was achieved during his first year in office.

Facing double-digit inflation and a sluggish economy, President Reagan proposed slashing cuts in taxes and domestic spending at the same time he

endorsed major increases in military spending. Reagan's budget severely slashed Federal job training programs, cut student loans, and reduced Medicare, food stamps, and other social welfare programs. It used "supply side economics" to justify massive tax cuts, arguing that reduced taxes would stimulate consumer and corporate spending. After a sharp recession in 1982, the Nation, overall, has enjoyed a fairly strong period of prosperity in most areas of the country and the economy, and inflation has been held in check. The price, of course, has been staggering Federal budget and trade deficits, and the increasing discomfort of the stock markets. The last pages of the Reagan administration's history have yet to be written, and so we cannot make final assessments. Moreover, unlike the Ford and Carter administrations, we currently have no Presidential memoirs offering personal insights and explanations.

But we do have two memoirs by staff members, one an aide to Senator Baker, and the other the President's director of the Office of Management and Budget. In his book, "Running in Place," James Miller recounts how the new Republican President and Republican Senate majority handled the economic crisis facing them. Senator Baker urged the President to tell the country how bad economic conditions had become, declare a moratorium on cost-of-living increases, and then offer his own stringent budget proposals.⁸ However, the President's advisors rejected this proposal in favor of a dramatic fiscal realignment, based on massive tax and spending cuts. Acting boldly and decisively, drawing on his immense popularity, the President advocated and won enactment of the Kemp-Roth tax cut, the cornerstone of the "Reagan Revolution." In his own remarkable confessions, "The Triumph of Politics," budget chief David Stockman has defined the "Reagan Revolution" as "a frontal assault on the American welfare state," believing deep reductions in all forms of domestic spending the only way to balance the massive tax cuts.

"Behind the hoopla of the Kemp-Roth tax cut and my thick black books of budget cuts," Stockman wrote, was "... minimalist government—a spare and stingy creature, which offered even-handed public justice, but no more." There was only one problem: Stockman discovered that his numbers did not add up. "In effect, the President was letting his fiscal architect develop his economic policy revolution for him." This is Stockman speaking. "He was taking my plan on faith alone, having no reason to suspect that the numbers wouldn't add up."⁹ The President wanted taxes cut, and defense spending increased, and was unwilling to touch Social Security. Key Republicans in Congress defend-

ed tobacco subsidies, job programs, nuclear reactors, and other pet projects. Cabinet secretaries defended their departments' budgets. Although some programs were abolished or reduced, the cuts in domestic spending simply did not match the increases in defense spending or compensate for the tax cuts. A disillusioned Stockman had discovered that "Our Madisonian government of checks and balances, three branches, two legislative houses, and infinitely splintered power is conservative, not radical. It hugs powerfully to the history behind it."¹⁰ The result of this error in calculation has been unprecedented triple-digit Federal deficits, a crisis in the U.S. balance of trade, where there have been also triple digit deficits, and steadily eroding investor confidence.

Mr. President, I would agree with Mr. Stockman's assessment of our Madisonian system of government. It seems to me that where Presidents—of either party—go astray is when they forget the fundamental reasons and wisdom behind that system of government, and why it has survived for 200 years. Divided power is not efficient: it sometimes frustrates favorite schemes; it opens projects to criticism, revision, and rejection. Congress supposedly leaks, while the executive branch is imagined to be sealed up tighter than a drum. So, a budget director's fears are held back from congressional scrutiny; a scheme to sell arms to the Iranians is kept secret even from the congressional Intelligence Committees, as is an illegal diversion of funds to Nicaragua. In all those cases, the truth is eventually revealed, to the embarrassment of all involved.

In July, when the Congress traveled to Philadelphia to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the "Great Compromise" that created the Senate and House, I drew special attention to this country's need to preserve its system of checks and balances. "In recent years, there has been a great deal of discussion about the separation of powers, of the proper role of the Congress in the formation of American foreign policy," I said at that occasion. "Yet, seen in the light of public debate, it is clear that a policy without checks and balances is a policy that too often loses its way." I wanted to drive home the point that our representative form of democracy depends upon power divided and power shared. "The tension between the Congress and the Executive was meant to be," I said. "It need not be destructive. It is, in the best sense, a healthy and creative tension inherent in our democratic process."

Mr. President, I trust that readers will recognize the threads of that theme throughout my addresses on the history of the Senate. This is not simply the story of the 100th Congress

versus the Reagan administration. It is also the story of the Senate of William Maclay versus the presidency of George Washington; of Henry Clay versus Andrew Jackson; of Ben Wade versus Abraham Lincoln; of Nelson Aldrich versus Theodore Roosevelt; of Robert Taft versus Harry Truman; of J. William Fulbright versus Lyndon Johnson; and of Sam Ervin versus Richard Nixon. Neither Presidents nor Congress can act by fiat, but must work together, each keeping a firm eye on the other branch, and each jealously guarding its own prerogatives. At the same time, we are all judged by the American people who elect us. I have frequently said that I have full faith in the restorative powers of our democracy. What is unchecked will be balanced. What is wrong will be righted in time by our open and democratic system of government. So it has been for the first 200 years in the history of the U.S. Senate, and so it will be in the future.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to include footnotes in the RECORD at this point.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOTES

¹ U.S. Congress, Senate, Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition, and House of Representatives, Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran, *Iran-Contra Affair*, S. Rept. 100-216, H. Rept. 100-433, 100th Congress, 1st sess., 1987.

² Gerald R. Ford, *A Time to Heal: The Autobiography of Gerald R. Ford* (New York, 1979), 134, 150, 156.

³ Thomas P. O'Neill and William Novak, *Man of the House: The Life and Political Memoirs of Speaker Tip O'Neill* (New York, 1987), 297.

⁴ Jimmy Carter, *Keeping the Faith: Memoirs of a President* (New York, 1982), 35, 71-73, 87-88.

⁵ *Washington Post*, 12 June 1977.

⁶ Carter, *Keeping Faith*, 78-80.

⁷ Ford, *A Time to Heal*, 266-268.

⁸ James A. Miller, *Running in Place, Inside the U.S. Senate* (New York, 1986), 75.

⁹ David Stockman, *The Triumph of Politics: How the Reagan Revolution Failed* (New York, 1986), 129.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Idaho is recognized.

DREAMS AND REALITIES

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, I appreciate the opportunity to have a few moments to speak today on last week's summit now that the euphoria of Gorbachev's visit to the United States has died down. With all of the attention devoted to his alleged charm and persuasiveness of Mikhail Gorbachev during the recent summit, I felt somewhat relieved that the dictator got out of town before he won the nomination. Before anyone thinks that I am being partisan in that statement, I was not sure of which party it was that he

was seeking the nomination. Now that the euphoria has come down somewhat, we need to take a realistic look at the words Mikhail Gorbachev, and what his policies actually are doing. The underlying question is whether or not he is a person that can be trusted.

It was refreshing to note, while Gorbachev was in our town for this recent summit with President Reagan, the CATO Institute, coincidentally issued an essay, "Marxist Dreams and Soviet Realities," by Prof. Ralph Raico, of the State University of New York College of Buffalo.

This excellent document should be read by anyone who might feel compelled, based on Mr. Gorbachev's visit, to reassess an aversion toward the Soviet Union. Professor Raico lays bare the tragic consequences of 70 years of communism in the Soviet Union and make clear that the pain and suffering wrought by that system is inherent in it, and ongoing today.

Indeed, the most telling point that Professor Raico makes is the fact that the mass executions and tens of millions of deaths that have resulted from Soviet communism in its history have not been mere historical accidents but are, in fact, the logical consequences of a system that denies such basic natural human rights as liberty and property.

It is clear too, that we too often focus narrowly on the heroic efforts of dissidents and activists within the Soviet Union, ignoring the plight of 270 million Soviet subjects who live in a system where the state decides how much they earn, where they work, and where they live.

Americans should concern themselves less with the clothing fashions of Soviet leaders and more with the need to pressure the Soviets to allow full immigration for any citizen.

I think Americans should pressure their Government to inundate the Soviet Union with J.C. Penney and Sears catalogs so they can see that there is a difference in what our system has been able to produce rather than the stark, bare system in the Soviet Union and other Communist-bloc nations, which is economically as well as morally bankrupt.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of Professor Raico's essay be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARXIST DREAMS AND SOVIET REALITIES
(By Ralph Raico)

The sharp contrast that Alexis de Tocqueville drew in 1835 between the United States and Russia—"the principle of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude"—¹—became even sharper after 1917, when the Russian Empire was transformed into the Soviet Union.

Like the United States, the Soviet Union is a nation founded on a distinct ideology. In the case of America, the ideology was fundamentally Lockean liberalism; its best expressions are the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution. The Ninth Amendment, in particular, breathes the spirit of the world-view of late-eighteenth-century America.² The Founders believed that there exist natural, individual rights that, taken together, constitute a sort of moral framework. Translated into law, this framework defines the social space within which men voluntarily interact; it allows for the spontaneous coordination and ongoing mutual adjustment of the various plans that the members of society form to guide and fill their lives.

The Soviet Union was founded on a very different ideology, Marxism, as understood and interpreted by V. I. Lenin. Marxism, with its roots in Hegelian philosophy, was a quite conscious revolt against the individual rights doctrine of the previous century. The leaders of the Bolshevik party (which changed its name to Communist in 1918) were virtually all revolutionary intellectuals, in accordance with the strategy set forth by Lenin in his 1902 work *What Is to Be Done?*³ They were keen students of the corpus of works of Marx and Engels published in their lifetimes or shortly thereafter and known to the theoreticians of the Second International. The Bolshevik leaders viewed themselves as the executors of the Marxist program, as those whom History has called upon to realize the apocalyptic transition to communist society foretold by the founders of their faith.

The aim they inherited from Marx and Engels was nothing less than the final realization of human freedom and the end of the "prehistory" of the human race. Theirs was the Promethean dream of the rehabilitation of Man and his conquest of his rightful place as master of the world and lord of creation.

Building on the work of Michael Polanyi and Ludwig von Mises, Paul Craig Roberts has demonstrated—in books that deserve to be much better known than they are, since they provide an important key to the history of the twentieth century⁴—the meaning of freedom in Marxism. It lies in the abolition of alienation, i.e., of commodity-production, production for the market. For Marx and Engels, the market represents not merely the arena of capitalist exploitation but, more fundamentally, a systematic insult to the dignity of Man. Through it, the consequences of Man's action escape from his control and turn on him in malign ways. Thus, the insight that market processes generate results that were no part of anyone's intention becomes, for Marxism, the very reason to condemn them. As Marx wrote of the stage of communist society before the total disappearance of scarcity,

"freedom in this field can consist only in socialized man, the associated producers, rationally regulating their interchange with Nature, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by the blind forces of Nature."⁵

The point is made most clearly by Engels: "With the seizure of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and with it dominion of the product over the producers. Anarchy of social production is replaced by conscious organization according to plan. The whole sphere of the conditions of life which surround men, which ruled men up until now, now comes under the dominion and con-

Footnotes at end of article.

scious control of men, who become for the first time the real, conscious lords of nature, because and in that they become masters of their own social organization. The laws of their own social activity, which confronted them until this point as alien laws of nature, controlling them, then are applied by men with full understanding, and so mastered by them. . . . Only from then on will men make their history themselves in full consciousness; only from then on will the social causes they set in motion have in the main and in constantly increasing proportion, also the results intended by them. It is the leap of mankind from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom."⁶

Marx and Engels had taken over the idea of the primacy of the economic from Saint-Simon and his followers, who had learned it from French liberal writers of the school of Say, Thierry, Dunoyer, and Charles Comte.⁷ Thus Man's freedom would be expressed in the total control exercised by the associated producers in *planning the economy* and, with it, all of social life. No longer would the *unintended consequences* of Man's actions bring disaster and despair—there would be *no such consequences*. Man would determine his own fate. Left unexplained was how millions upon millions of separate individuals could be expected to act with one mind and one will—could suddenly become "Man"—especially since it was alleged that the state, the engine of coercion, would wither away.

Already in Marx and Engels's day—decades before the establishment of the Soviet state—there were some with a shrewd idea of just who it was that would assume the title role when the time came to perform the heroic melodrama, *Man Creates His Own Destiny*. The most celebrated of Marx's early critics was the Russian anarchist Michael Bakunin, for whom Marx was "the Bismarck of socialism" and who warned that Marxism was a doctrine ideally fitted to function as the ideology—in the Marxist sense: the systematic rationalization and obfuscation—of the power urges of revolutionary intellectuals. It would lead, Bakunin warned, to the creation of "a new class," which would establish "the most aristocratic, despotic, arrogant, and contemptuous of all regimes"⁸ and entrench its control over the producing classes of society. Bakunin's analysis was extended and elaborated by the Pole Wladislaw Machajski.⁹

Despite this analysis—or perhaps as a confirmation of it—the Marxist vision came to inspire generations of intellectuals in Europe and even in America. In the course of the vast, senseless carnage that was the First World War, the Tsarist Empire collapsed and the immense Imperial Russian Army was fragmented into atoms. A tiny group of Marxist intellectuals seized power. What could be more natural than that, once in power, they should try to bring into being the vision that was their whole purpose and aim? The problem was that the audacity of their dream was matched only by the depth of their economic ignorance.

In August, 1917—three months before he took power—this is how Lenin, in *State and Revolution*, characterized the skills needed to "run" a national economy in the "first phase" of communism, the one he and his associates were to embark upon:

"The accounting and control necessary for this have been *simplified* by capitalism to the utmost, till they have become the extraordinarily simple operations of watching, recording, and issuing receipts, within the reach of anybody who can read and write

and knows the first four rules of arithmetic."¹⁰

Nikolai Bukharin, one of the foremost "Old Bolsheviks," in 1919 wrote, together with Evgeny Preobrazhensky, the most famous Bolshevik text. It was *The ABC of Communism*, a work that went through 18 Soviet editions and was translated into 20 languages. Bukharin and Preobrazhensky "were regarded as the Party's two ablest economists."¹¹ According to them, communist society is, in the first place, "an organized society," based on a detailed, precisely calculated plan, which includes the "assignment" of labor to the various branches of production. As for distribution, according to these eminent Bolshevik economists, all products will be delivered to communal warehouses, and the members of society will draw them out in accordance with their self-defined needs.¹²

Favorable mentions of Bukharin in the Soviet press are now taken to be exciting signs of the glories of glasnost, and in his speech of November 2, 1987, Mikhail Gorbachev partially rehabilitated him.¹³ It should be remembered that Bukharin is the man who wrote, "We shall proceed to a standardization of the intellectuals; we shall manufacture them as in a factory"¹⁴ and who stated, in justification of Leninist tyranny:

"Proletarian coercion, in all its forms, from executions to forced labor, is, paradoxically as it may sound, the method of molding communist humanity out of the human material of the capitalist period."¹⁵

The shaping of the "human material" at their disposal into something higher—the manufacture of the New Soviet Man, Homo sovieticus—was essential to the vision of all the millions of individuals in society acting together, with one mind and one will,¹⁶ and it was shared by all the Communist leaders. It was to this end, for instance, that Liliina, Zinoviev's wife, spoke out for the "nationalization" of children, in order to mold them into good Communists.¹⁷

The most articulate and brilliant of the Bolsheviks put it most plainly and best. At the end of his *Literature and Revolution*, written in 1924, Leon Trotsky placed the famous, and justly ridiculed, last lines: Under Communism, he wrote, "The average human type will rise to the heights of an Aristotle, a Goethe, or a Marx. And above this ridge new peaks will rise." This dazzling prophecy was justified in his mind, however, by what he had written in the few pages preceding. Under Communism, Man will "reconstruct society and himself in accord with his own plan. . . . The imperceptible, ant-like piling up of quarters and streets, brick by brick, from generation to generation, will give way to the titanic construction of city-villages, with map and compass in hand. . . . Even purely physiologic life will become subject to collective experiments. The human species, the coagulated homo sapiens, will once more enter into a state of radical transformation, and, in his own hands, will become an object of the most complicated methods of artificial selection and psycho-physical training. . . . [It will be] possible to reconstruct fundamentally the traditional family life. . . . The human race will not have ceased to crawl on all fours before God, kings, and capital, in order later to submit humbly before the laws of heredity and blind sexual selection! . . . Man will make it his purpose . . . to create a higher social biological type, or, if you please, a superman."¹⁸

I suggest that what we have here, in the sheer willfulness of Trotsky and the other

Bolsheviks, in their urge to replace God, nature, and spontaneous order with total, conscious planning by themselves, is something that transcends politics in any ordinary sense of the term. It may well be that to understand what is at issue here, we must ascend to another level, and that more useful in understanding it than the works of the classical liberal economists and political theorists is the superb novel of the great Christian apologist, C. S. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength*.

Now, the fundamental changes in human nature that the Communist leaders undertook to make require, in the nature of the case, absolute political power in a few directing hands. During the French Revolution, Robespierre and the other Jacobin leaders set out to transform human nature in accordance with the theories of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. This was not the *only* cause but it was surely *one* of the causes of the Reign of Terror. The Communists soon discovered what the Jacobins had learned: that such an enterprise requires that Terror be erected into a system of government.¹⁹

The Red Terror began early on. In his celebrated November 1987 speech, Gorbachev confined the Communist Reign of Terror to the Stalin years and stated:

"Many thousands of people inside and outside the party were subjected to wholesale representative measures. Such, comrades, is the bitter truth."²⁰

But by no means is this the whole of the bitter truth. By the end of 1917, the repressive organs of the new Soviet state had been organized into the Cheka, later known by many other names, including OGPU, NKVD, and KGB. The various mandates under which the Cheka operated may be illustrated by an order signed by Lenin on February 21, 1918: that men and women of the bourgeoisie be drafted into labor battalions to dig trenches under the supervision of Red Guards, with "those resisting to be shot." Others, including "speculators" and counter-revolutionary agitators, were "to be shot on the scene of their crime." To a Bolshevik who objected to the phrasing, Lenin replied, "Surely you do not imagine that we shall be victorious without applying the most cruel revolutionary terror?"²¹ The number of Cheka executions that amounted to legalized murder in the period from late 1917 to early 1922—including neither the victims of the Revolutionary Tribunals and the Red Army itself nor the insurgents killed by the Cheka—has been estimated by one authority at 140,000.²² As a reference point, consider that the number of political executions under the reactionary and repressive Tsarist regime from 1866 to 1917 was about 14,000²³ (except that the persons executed were accorded trials), and the comparable figure for the French Revolutionary Reign of Terror was 18,000 to 20,000.²⁴ Clearly, with the first Marxist state something new had come into the world.

In the Leninist period—that is, up to 1924—fall also the war against the peasantry that was part of "war communism" and the famine conditions, culminating in the famine of 1921, that resulted from the attempt to realize the Marxist dream. The best estimate of the human cost of those episodes is around 6,000,000 persons.²⁵

But the guilt of Lenin and the Old Bolsheviks—and of Marx himself—does not end here. Gorbachev asserted that "the Stalin personality cult was certainly not inevitable." "Inevitable" is a large word, but if something like Stalinism had *not* occurred, it would have been close to a miracle. Scorn-

ing what Marx and Engels had derided as mere "bourgeois" freedom and "bourgeois" jurisprudence.²⁰ Lenin destroyed freedom of the press, abolished all protections against the police power, and rejected any hint of division of powers and checks and balances in government. It would have saved the peoples of Russia an immense amount of suffering if Lenin—and Marx and Engels before him—had not quite so brusquely dismissed the work of men like Montesquieu and Madison, Benjamin Constant and Alexis de Tocqueville. These writers had been preoccupied with the problem of how to thwart the state's ever-present drive toward absolute power. They laid out, often in painstaking detail, the political arrangements that are required, the social forces that must be nurtured, in order to avert tyranny. But to Marx and his Bolshevik followers, this was nothing more than "bourgeois ideology," obsolete and of no relevance to the future socialist society. Any trace of decentralization or division of power, the slightest suggestion of a countervailing force to the central authority of the "associated producers," ran directly contrary to the vision of the unitary planning of the whole of social life.²⁷

The toll among the peasantry was even greater under Stalin's collectivization²⁸ and the famine of 1933—a deliberate one this time, aimed at terrorizing and crushing the peasants, especially of the Ukraine. We shall never know the full truth of this demonic crime, but it seems likely that around 14,000,000 persons lost their lives as a result of these Communist policies—more than the total of all the dead in all the armies in the First World War.²⁹

One is stunned. Who could have conceived that within a few years, compared with what the Communists were to do in the Ukraine, the appalling butcheries of World War I—Verdun, the Somme, Passchendaele—would be nothing?

They died in hell.

They called it Passchendaele.

But what word to use, then, for what the Communists made of the Ukraine?

Vladimir Grossman, a Russian novelist who experienced the famine of 1933, wrote about it in his novel, *Forever Flowing*, published in the West. An eyewitness to the famine in the Ukraine stated:

"Then I came to understand the main thing for the Soviet power is the Plan. Fulfill the Plan. . . . Fathers and mothers tried to save their children, to save a little bread, and they were told: You hate our socialist country, you want to ruin the Plan, you are parasites, kulaks, fiends, reptiles. . . . When they took the grain, they told the kolkhoz members they would be fed out of the reserve fund. They lied. They would not give grain to the hungry."³⁰

The labor camps for "class-enemies" had already been established under Lenin, at least as early as August, 1918.³¹ They were vastly enlarged under his successor, Alexander Solzhenitsyn compared them to an archipelago spread across the sea of the Soviet Union. The camps grew and grew. Who were sent there? Tsarists and recalcitrant members of the middle classes, liberals, Mensheviks, anarchists, priests and laity of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Baptists and other religious dissidents, "wreckers," suspects of every description, then, "kulaks" and peasants by the hundreds of thousands. During the Great Purge of the middle 1930s, the Communist bureaucrats and intellectuals themselves were victims, and there was a certain sort of thinker in the West who now began to notice the

camps, and the executions, for the first time. More masses of human beings were shipped in after the annexations of eastern Poland and the Baltic states; then enemy prisoners of war, the internal "enemy" nationalities, and the returning Soviet prisoners of war, who flooded into the camps after 1945—in Solzhenitsyn's words, "vast dense gray shoals like ocean herring."³²

The most notorious of these camps was Kolyma in eastern Siberia—in actuality, a system of camps four times the size of France. There the death rate may have been as high as 50% per year³³ and the number of deaths was probably on the order of 3,000,000. It goes on and on. In 1940 there was Katyn and the murder of the Polish officers; in 1952, the leaders of Yiddish culture in the Soviet Union were liquidated en masse³⁴—both drops in the bucket for Stalin. During the Purges there were probably about 7,000,000 arrests, and one out of every ten arrested was executed.³⁵

How many died altogether? No one will ever know. What is certain is that the Soviet Union has been the worst reeking charnel house of this whole awful twentieth century, worse even than the one the Nazis created (but then they had less time).³⁶ The sum total of deaths due to Soviet policy—in the Stalin period alone—deaths from the collectivization and the terror-famine, the executions and the Gulag, is probably on the order of 30,000,000.³⁷

As glasnost proceeds and these landmarks of Soviet history are uncovered and explored to a greater or lesser degree, it is to be hoped that Gorbachev and his followers will not fail to point an accusing finger at the West for the part it played in masking these crimes. I am referring to the shameful chapter in twentieth-century intellectual history involving the fellow travelers of Soviet Communism and their apologies for Stalinism. Americans, especially American college students, have been made familiar with the wrongs of McCarthyism in our own history. This is as it should be. The harassment and public humiliation of innocent private persons is iniquitous, and the U.S. government must always be held to the standards established by the Bill of Rights. But surely we should also remember, and inform young Americans of, the accomplices in a far different order of wrongs—those progressive intellectuals who "worshiped at the temple of [Soviet] planning"³⁸ and lied and evaded the truth to protect the homeland of socialism, while millions were martyred. Not only George Bernard Shaw,³⁹ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Harold Laski, and Jean-Paul Sartre, but, for instance, the Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*, Walter Duranty, who told his readers, in August, 1933, at the height of the famine:

"Any report of famine in Russia is today an exaggeration for malignant propaganda. The food shortage which has affected almost the whole population in the last year and particularly in the grain-producing provinces—the Ukraine, North Caucasus, the lower Volga region—has, however, caused heavy loss of life."⁴⁰

For his "objective" reporting from the Soviet Union, Duranty won a Pulitzer Prize.⁴¹

Or—to take another fellow traveler virtually at random—we should keep in mind the valuable work of Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins University. Prof. Lattimore visited Kolyma in the summer of 1944, as an aide to the vice president of the United States, Henry Wallace. He wrote a glowing report

on the camp and on its chief warden, Commandant Nikishov, for the *National Geographic*.⁴² Lattimore compared Kolyma to a combination of the Hudson Bay Company and the TVA.⁴³ The number of the influential American fellow travelers was, in fact, legion, and I can think of no moral principle that would justify our forgetting what they did and what they did it in aid of.

In his speech of November 2, Gorbachev declared that Stalin was guilty of "enormous and unforgivable crimes" and announced that a special commission of the Central Committee is to prepare a history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that will reflect the realities of Stalin's rule. Andrei Sakharov has called for the full disclosure of "the entire, terrible truth of Stalin and his era."⁴⁴ But can the Communist leaders really afford to tell the entire truth? At the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, Nikita Khrushchev revealed the tip of the iceberg of Stalinist crimes, and Poland rose up and there took place the glorious and immortal Hungarian Revolution, when they did, high deeds in Hungary, to pass all men's believing.

What would it mean to reveal the entire truth? Could the Communist leaders admit, for instance, that during World War II, "the losses inflicted by the Soviet state upon its own people rivaled any the Germans could inflict on the battlefield"? That "the Nazi concentration camps were modified versions of Soviet originals, whose evolution the German leadership had followed with some care"? That, in short, "the Soviet Union is not only the original killer state, but the model one"?⁴⁵ If they did that, what might the consequences not be this time? But the fact that the victims of Soviet Communism can never be fully acknowledged in their homeland is all the more reason that, as a matter of historical justice, we in the West must endeavor to keep their memory alive.

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FOOTNOTES

¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. I (New York: Vintage, 1945), p. 452.

² "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

³ V. I. Lenin, *What Is to Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement* (New York: International Publishers, 1929).

⁴ *Alienation and the Soviet Economy: Towards a General Theory of Marxian Alienation, Organizational Principles, and the Soviet Economy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971) and (with Matthew A. Stephenson) *Marx's Theory of Exchange, Alienation, and Crisis* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1973).

⁵ Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. III, ed. Friedrich Engels (New York: International Publishers, 1967), p. 820.

⁶ Friedrich Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968), p. 432. Italics in original.

⁷ Shirley M. Gruner, *Economic Materialism and Social Moralism* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1973).

⁸ See, for instance, Michael Bakunin, "Marx, the Bismarck of Socialism," in Leonard I. Krimmerman and Lewis Perry, eds., *Patterns of Anarchy. A Collection of Writings in the Anarchist Tradition* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor/Doubleday, 1966), pp. 80-87, especially p. 87. For a discussion of the theoretical problems involved in a "new class" analysis of Soviet society and a critique of James Burnham's attempt to generalize the interpretation to non-Marxist societies, see Leszek Kolakowski, *Main*

Current of Marxism, trans. P. S. Falla (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), Vol. III, *The Breakdown*, p. 157-68.

⁹ See Max Nomad, *Political Heretics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968), pp. 238-41. Also, Jan Wacław Makaiski, *Le socialisme des intellectuels*, ed. Alexandre Skirka (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1979).

¹⁰ V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution* (New York: International Publishers, 1943), pp. 83-84. Italics in original.

¹¹ Sidney Heitman, in the "New Introduction" (unpaginated) to N. Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966).

¹² Ibid., pp. 68-73. Italics in original.

¹³ *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1987.

¹⁴ David Caute, *The Left in Europe Since 1789* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 179.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 112.

¹⁶ "The principal task of the fathers of the October Revolution was the creation of the New Man, *Homo sovieticus*," Michel Heller and Aleksandr Nekrich, *L'utopie au pouvoir: Histoire de l'U.R.S.S. de 1917 à nos jours* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1982), p. 580. As for the result, Kolakowski states: "Stalinism really produced 'the new Soviet man': an ideological schizophrenic, a liar who believed what he was saying, a man capable of incessant, voluntary acts of intellectual self-mutilation." Kolakowski, vol. III, p. 97.

¹⁷ Heller and Nekrich, p. 50.

¹⁸ Leon Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1971), pp. 246, 249, 254-56. Bukharin entertained similarly absurd collectivist-Promethean notions of socialist achievement. He stated, in 1928 (when Stalin's domination was already apparent): "We are creating and we shall create a civilization compared to which capitalism will have the same aspect as an air played on a kazoo to Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony." Heller and Nekrich, p. 181.

¹⁹ Cf. J. L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (London: Mercury Books, 1961).

²⁰ *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1987.

²¹ George Leggett, *The Cheka: Lenin's Political Police* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 56-57.

²² Ibid., pp. 466-67.

²³ Ibid., p. 468. The great majority of these occurred as a result of the Revolution of 1905.

²⁴ Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus, eds., *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution, 1789-1799, L-Z* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), p. 944.

²⁵ Robert Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 53-55.

²⁶ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, in *Selected Works*, p. 49.

²⁷ On Marx's responsibility, Kolakowski (vol. III, pp. 160-61) writes, "He undoubtedly believed that socialist society would be one of perfect unity, in which conflicts of interest would disappear with the elimination of their economic bases in private property. This society, he thought, would have no need of bourgeois institutions such as representative political bodies . . . and rules of law safeguarding civil liberties. The Soviet despotism was an attempt to apply this doctrine." See also p. 41.

²⁸ The "war against the nation"—Stalin's forced collectivization—was not the product of a power-mad cynic; as Adam Ulam has argued, "Stalin was seldom cynical. . . . He was sincere and obsessed." His obsession was Marxism-Leninism, the science of society that unerringly points the way to human freedom. If reality proved refractory, then the cause had to be the "wreckers"—whole categories and classes of people engaged in deliberate sabotage. Surely, the Marxist dream could not be a fault. Adam Ulam, *Stalin. The Man and His Era* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), pp. 300-301.

²⁹ Conquest, pp. 299-307. The terrible famine year was 1933; after that, concessions were made to the peasant: a half-acre plot that he could work for himself and the right to sell crops on the market, after the state's quota had been met. Stalin, however, begrudged these "concessions" to "individualism." Ulam, pp. 350-52.

³⁰ Cited in ibid., p. 346.

³¹ Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *Stalin: Order Through Terror*, trans. Valance Ionescu (London and New York: Longman, 1981), p. 6-7.

³² Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956. An Experiment in Literary Investigation*, vol. I-II, trans. Thomas P. Whitney (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 237.

³³ Nikolai Tolstoy, *Stalin's Secret War* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981), p. 15.

³⁴ David Caute, *The Fellow-Travelers. A Postscript to the Enlightenment* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), p. 286.

³⁵ Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror. Stalin's Purge of the Thirties* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), p. 527.

³⁶ It should be obvious that, in logic and in justice, the enumeration of Soviet crimes can in no way exculpate any other state for the crimes it has committed or is committing.

³⁷ Conquest, *The Great Terror*, pp. 525-535, especially p. 533. Caute, *The Fellow-Travelers*, p. 107, estimates the deaths in the camps between 1936 and 1950 at 12,000,000. He adds "Stalin's policies may have accounted for twenty million deaths." Ibid., p. 303.

³⁸ Caute, *The Fellow-Travelers*, p. 259.

³⁹ Shaw, for example, expressed his scorn for those who protested when the Soviet Union "judiciously liquidates a handful of exploiters and speculators to make the world safe for honest men." Ibid., p. 113. On this whole subject, see Caute, *The Fellow-Travelers*.

⁴⁰ Quoted by Eugene Lyons, "The Press Corps Conceals a Famine," in Julien Steinberg, ed., *Verdict of Three Decades. From the Literature of Individual Revolt Against Soviet Communism, 1917-1950* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1950), pp. 272-73.

⁴¹ Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow*, pp. 319-20. As Conquest mentions, as of 1983 the *Times* still listed Duranty's Pulitzer prize among the paper's honors. If the *Times* reporter and other correspondents lied so contemptibly about conditions in Soviet Russia, however, others were soon telling the truth: Eugene Lyons and William Henry Chamberlin published articles and books detailing, from personal experience, what Chamberlin called the "organized famine" that has been used as a weapon against the Ukrainian peasantry. See William Henry Chamberlin, "Death in the Villages," in Steinberg, p. 291.

⁴² Caute, *The Fellow-Travelers*, p. 102.

⁴³ Conquest, *The Great Terror*, p. 354.

⁴⁴ *New York Times*, Nov. 7, 1987.

⁴⁵ Nick Eberstadt, Introduction to Iosif G. Dyadkin, *Unnatural Deaths in the U.S.S.R., 1928-1954* (New Brunswick, N.J. and London: Transaction Books, 1983), pp. 8 and 4.

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, I bring to the attention of my colleagues another article I believe is worthy of our consideration—it was in the *Wall Street Journal* on December 14—by one of America's most distinguished women, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick.

The article she wrote is entitled "Is He a New Kind of Communist? Read His Book."

I would challenge my colleagues in the Senate, and I will try to live up to that challenge myself, that we should all make an attempt to read Gorbachev's book. Mrs. Kirkpatrick points out in her article that boring as it is, she found it very instructive to read. And she said that the conclusion she draws is Gorbachev's goals are " * * * not a retreat from socialism and not a drive for liberalization caused by Western pressures, then what is it?"

"It is a resolution. A decisive acceleration of the socioeconomic and cultural development of Soviet society which involves radical changes."

She is quoting Gorbachev. She said, "There are few surprises in his book." She said, "From it we learn that Gorbachev is a Soviet national who clings firmly to Leninism and the one-party state. We also learn that his foreign-policy approaches are the same as would have been assumed by any close observer."

She goes on and points out in the article that there are familiar justifications. The Soviet Union went into Afghanistan because "its leaders asked the Soviet Union to help." That is a quote from Gorbachev. There is no mention here of the murders of the same Soviet leaders at the hands of the Soviet benefactors within hours of the Soviet army's arrival.

Although not mentioned in her article, I believe it should be noted for the *RECORD* that 9 percent of the Afghanist population has been lost because of the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan.

If that is Mr. Gorbachev's idea of helping a neighbor, I think most of the world could well do without his help. He still made those statements on television that the Soviets went into Afghanistan to help. I think the only kind of assistance we can lend is to continue to provide the material, humanitarian, and military where-withal to the mujeheddin.

I ask unanimous consent that Mrs. Kirkpatrick's article be inserted in the *RECORD* at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

[From the *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 14, 1987]

IS HE A NEW KIND OF COMMUNIST? READ HIS BOOK

(By Jeane Kirkpatrick)

Ronald Reagan believes Mikhail Gorbachev is a different kind of man from his Soviet predecessors, and this belief enables our president to set aside a lifetime of caution concerning what communists are like and how we should deal with them.

The president is not alone in his view. Underlying the euphoria of the summit week was a widespread notion that Gorbachev is a new kind of Soviet ruler, with new goals for his country and new views about how to achieve them. This optimistic belief is based not only on our national character, but also on Gorbachev's style and on the fact that he represents a new generation of Soviet leadership.

The style is that of a modern man. Gorbachev does not sound like a man who threatens anyone's security. So many of his Western hearers, including the American president, conclude that the country he rules is less aggressive and expansionist than in the past. Months ago, George Shultz argued that Gorbachev was a new type of Soviet ruler. Reagan then resisted this view. Now he believes it.

The belief is not implausible. We regularly assume that style is an external reflection of internal realities, and as far back as Plato, discerning people have believed that political generations sometimes differ in fundamental ways, that the arrival of a new generation in power may mark the beginning of a new political era.

Moreover, we Americans have wanted desperately to believe in a transformation of the Soviet Union and of U.S.-Soviet relations. Most Americans have, therefore, been enormously gratified and encouraged to hear of Gorbachev's campaign for "glasnost" and "perestroika" and "new thinking."

People rethinking their view of the Soviet Union, including Ronald Reagan, would be well advised to actually read Gorbachev's new book—dull as it is—which casts great light on his conceptions of where the Soviet Union is, where it is going and why. The Gorbachev who wrote "Perestroika" is a classical Leninist—flexible, adaptable, skillful in the pursuit and use of power, absolutely committed to "the revolution," to socialism, to a one-party state, and not unduly disturbed about the high human cost of past Soviet policy.

The book rejects utterly the common American view that economic difficulties have prompted Gorbachev's campaign of reform, and that these reforms constitute a retreat from socialism. Again and again, Gorbachev insists that his goal is the consolidation and perfection of socialism, not its modification.

"We will proceed toward better socialism rather than away from it," he writes. "We are saying this honestly and without trying to fool our own people or the world. Any hopes that we begin to build a different, non-socialist society and go over to the other camp are unrealistic and futile."

Concerning democratization, he says it is indeed a goal. But, as he has emphasized in Moscow conversations and makes clear in the book, the democracy he seeks is not American-style, Western-style democracy in which rulers are chosen in periodic, competitive elections under conditions of free press and assembly. The democracy Gorbachev seeks means decentralization and broad participation in society. It does not and could not mean competitive elections, for, as Gorbachev remarks without embarrassment, "We have no political opposition." The party rules.

If perestroika is not a retreat from socialism and not a drive for liberalization caused by Western pressures, then what is it?

"It is a revolution. A decisive acceleration of the socioeconomic and cultural development of Soviet society which involves radical changes. . . . It is a jump forward in the development of socialism. . . ." he writes.

There are few surprises in this book. From it we learn that Gorbachev is a Soviet national who clings firmly to Leninism and the one-party state. We also learn that his foreign-policy approaches are the same as would have been assumed by any close observer.

There are the familiar justifications. The Soviet Union went into Afghanistan "because its leaders asked the Soviet Union to help." There is no mention here of the murders of those same Afghan leaders at the hands of their Soviet "benefactors" within hours of the Soviet Army's arrival. There is the familiar theme that "Europe is our common home," a Europe that "stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals." Russians then are European. Americans are not. Russians seek to realize closer bonds with the "common family."

There are harsh, familiar complaints about America's role in the world. U.S. foreign policy is depicted as being dominated by a "cave-man" mentality that sees the Soviet Union as a persistent threat to the world. "We have the impression that the United States needs regional conflicts to maintain its confrontation with the Soviet Union," Gorbachev says.

"What motivates the United States?" Gorbachev asks and answers. The old villain, the military-industrial complex. American foreign policy is based on illusions of technological superiority and the belief that

"the economic system of the Soviet Union is about to crumble," that it will be possible to restore American military supremacy.

America is not the only target. Gorbachev reaffirms Soviet opposition to "any manifestations of nationalist narrow-mindedness and chauvinism, parochialism, Zionism and anti-Semitism in whatever forms they may be expressed."

His conception of the Soviet past is conventional, orthodox and unembarrassed. He describes the collectivization policy that killed 5 million people as "a great historic act, the most important social change since 1917."

The book lacks the charm and flexibility that characterize Gorbachev himself. It is dull; he is not. Perhaps he did not write the book at all. Gorbachev describes perestroika as a revolution. But the book testifies that Gorbachev is no revolutionary within the Soviet tradition. I hope the president reads it before the next summit.

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, on the subject of INF, I want to just make a few comments because I believe when the euphoria dies down and we analyze what this treaty does we in the Senate are going to be asked to vote on a very important question. I think we have to come down to the bottom line question: Is it going to make the world safer from war, or less safe from war?

Frank Gaffney, Jr., wrote a good article in the Washington Post which was published last week. I ask unanimous consent that following my comments the following articles be printed in the RECORD: the Gaffney article entitled "Take a 'Timeout' on the INF Treaty," "Europe's INF Message to President, Reagan," "Treaty and Summit Give Away Too Much" and, "INF: The Perils of Euphoria."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, I want to say Mr. Gaffney makes four very important points. First. Does the treaty actually eliminate the Soviet Union's INF mission infrastructure and capacity? That is a question that each Senator has to ask himself. In other words, they are getting rid of the so-called SS-20's. They are not destroying one nuclear warhead. There are no less nuclear warheads. The infrastructure and the mix of SS-20's and 25's is already in place in the Soviet Union.

Second. Is the Soviet supplied data complete, consistent, and compatible with our own intelligence estimates of the treaty limiting systems and activities? Third. Does the treaty language have important ambiguities, loopholes, or provisions that otherwise might lend themselves to future debate about the meaning and interpretations? And fourth, Is there an effective onsite inspection regimen for the suspect facilities?

The most important question we will have to ask ourselves is: If the answer to any one of those questions is no, then should this treaty be ratified?

The article entitled "Europe's INF Message to President Reagan," has served poignant thoughts. The authors, one who is a senior fellow at the College de France, another is a member of the Bundestag and a diplomat, the other is the director of the London-based Institute for European Defense and Strategic Studies. There are many points they make. But they say in closing:

It is one thing to strike a spectacular arms deal with one's adversary. It is another to preserve the conditions of peace and freedom. We remember the president who once denounced the "empire of evil" and who courageously scorned fashionable opinion in order to build up Western defenses. To that president we wish renewed courage, resolve and good fortune. We extend no less to the members of the United States Senate to whom the burden of a historic responsibility now passes.

Moreover, they say:

It is also important to bear in mind that the Soviet SS-20s no longer present the same threat to Western Europe they once did: the strategic and political value of their removal may therefore be exaggerated. This is partly because, by the latest standards, the SS-20 lacks accuracy and sophistication. Indeed, it will soon be obsolete.

Meanwhile, the Soviets are modernizing their nuclear arsenals by the inclusion of such weapons as the SS-24 that are outside the scope of the agreement. Thus, although the Soviets will give up many more warheads than the United States, there is no balance of symmetry in this exchange. Even in the short term the accord will not exclude the possibility of an intermediate-range nuclear strike against Europe: The Warsaw Pact may simply re-target a proportion of its Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles against Europe.

It should also be remembered that if the Soviets break the agreement—as they have violated earlier deals—or find ways of avoiding its provision, it is unlikely that any American president will be able to put the missile back.

I would say to my colleagues that many questions are raised in this article and encourage all Senators to read it.

Because what this article points out and makes very clear, is that the American President, whether he is a Republican or Democrat, has to stand as the Rock of Gibraltar for the European politicians who have stood up to the expansionism of the Soviets in the past, and the Communists in general; because they do have the political parties with some substantial force in Europe, from the left, who see no threat from the Iron Curtain countries. Those political parties have been emboldened by our so-called new love affair that we have embarked upon with the Soviet dictator.

Although there is a lot of praise that the President deserves for his ability to get the Soviets to the bargaining table, this Senator is gravely concerned about what the answers to some of these questions are.

Mr. President, I know my time is getting close to ending, and I have one other article I would like to add, and that is the Wall Street article of December 9, 1987, entitled "Heavy-Metal Treaty." Also, there is a little piece at the bottom entitled "An Echo."

I think it is interesting that the article points out some of the problems within this treaty and some of the questions that have to be answered by the Senate in this verification process.

I want to read this one part:

For the first time in history, the language of "arms control" was replaced by "arms reduction"—in this case the complete elimination of an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles.

That is President Reagan on signing the INF Treaty on December 8.

I read another part:

The first international agreement since World War II to provide for the actual elimination of an entire class of weapons from the arsenal of nations.

That was Richard Nixon, in his official message on the Convention on Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Biological and Toxin Weapons and Their Destruction, in 1972.

Another treaty, I might add, the Soviet Union has violated.

I think the point we have to recognize is this: Are we going to end up conforming with the INF agreement and at the same time the Soviets go back home to the Soviet Union and go ahead on their planned military program of SS-24's, SS-25's, SS-26's, to replace the SS-18's? The SS-24's and SS-25's are rail-mobile and ground-mobile launchers, which are very difficult to detect. It is a perfect opportunity for camouflage, concealment, and deceit.

They are expanding their sphere of influence in Central America. They are expanding their sphere of influence in the African continent. They are expanding their sphere of influence in Afghanistan. They are seeking the treasure house of the Persian Gulf and the treasure house of minerals in Africa. Their intent is to deny the West of the opportunity to have these minerals, both the oil and the critical materials for our industrial societies.

Yet, they are now in the process, according to recent disclosures from an officer who has defected from the Sandinistas, to go on a program to build a 600,000-man army in Nicaragua. For what? For a strike force to use against neighboring countries in the region, as they have done in the past with the Cuban forces and others?

I think these are questions we need to get into perspective. The euphoria is now over, the summit is ended, and the Soviet dictator has gone home.

Now I appeal to my colleagues to take a very slow and careful look at what the Soviet policies are and then

try to mesh them with what the Soviet dictator's rhetoric is, and see if there are not some gross inconsistencies.

It is very interesting that in some cases it is not inconsistent. The Soviet dictator clearly states what his position is. I intend to read his book, because I remember that some 50 years ago, another dictator wrote a book called "Mein Kampf," and he spelled out what his plan was in the book. People would not believe it, but he spelled out what the plan was, and he raised havoc with peace and freedom of people in the world for some time—a short and tragic time which created enormous loss of life and difficulty for people in the world.

Mr. President, we do have a very important responsibility. I know that the Senate will look at this very carefully. I think Senators should not commit themselves for this treaty or against it, for obvious reasons. I think they have an opportunity to weigh all the evidence until the hearing process can be well studied and undertaken.

The bottom line question is: Is the world going to be safer after the ratification of this treaty than it is now, or is it safer now, when the American and the Western position is obviously quite strong in the Western alliance in Europe?

Mr. President, I thank the majority leader for his indulgence.

I ask unanimous consent that the articles to which I referred be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Dec. 9, 1987]

HEAVY-METAL TREATY

The INF treaty President Reagan signed yesterday with Mikhail Gorbachev will now occupy center stage in Washington and the capitals of Western Europe for the coming year. It will share discussion time with Mr. Gorbachev's proposed "radical cuts in long-range strategic arms" ("subject," he added pointedly, "to preserving the ABM treaty"). Debating the merits and disadvantages of this deal will now consume the best hours of the West's best strategic minds. Opinion polls will be commissioned. Western defense policy, notably the conventional defense of Europe, will be rethought, debated and resubmitted for reconsideration to defense ministries, parliaments and Congress. The American President will spend his final year arguing about arms control with conservatives.

In short, the West will debate with itself, and the Soviets will go home to work—developing and building a coherent military machine.

At some point, after all the commemorative journalism has subsided in the nation's capital, someone other than just the hard-liners will have to ask some hard questions about where the current arms-control process is taking the West.

Have Western elites concluded that their people more highly value psychological security (presumably affirmed in the opinion

polls) than security based on the hardware of serious defense? In particular, will someone look at the treaty's text to find out whether the missiles' warheads will be destroyed, or whether in fact they will be stored and refitted on newer missiles. Is it true that the explosive charges of the "eliminated" missiles may be saved and used on new missiles? If so, will someone please tell all the Pentagon reporters and strategic pundits to either define their words so the public can understand them or stop talking about eliminated warheads.

On reading the treaty, will someone also tell us if it's true that it eliminates not only nuclear but conventional ground-launched cruise missiles? We hear that because of verification, the latter has to go with the former. This means that what's really ended by the treaty is the best hope for a conventional defense of Europe.

Soviet offensive strategy depends crucially on attacking in sequenced, massed echelons from Eastern Europe and inside the Soviet Union. Cruise missiles are extremely accurate and can carry large payloads needed for powerful conventional warheads; if properly developed, the conventional GLCM would be capable of slowing an echeloned Soviet attack by quickly hitting bridges, massed armor and communications outposts. Whether eliminating the potential for useful weapons in which the U.S. excels makes the world safe or less safe is a question that won't appear in an opinion poll.

The Soviets, it's said, have accepted "intrusive" verification procedures. American inspectors will keep watch on the doors of a factory in Volokamsk that produces both intermediate-range SS-20 and intercontinental SS-25 missiles; their mission will be to ensure that the factory produces only missiles that can reach the U.S.

If over the treaty's 13-year inspection regime one of the American observers raises an objection, the U.S. and the Soviets will talk about that in something called the Standing Nuclear Commission. This succeeds the Standing Consultative Commission, where we talked about (and never once did anything about) Soviet violations of the two SALT treaties. Neither commission can compel either party to cease an activity; they are forums for discussion.

The U.S. Senate already has made its own contribution to the arms-control process this year. It spent most of its session debating two matters. First, whether the binding version of the ABM treaty was the "broad" interpretation negotiated with the Russians or the "restrictive" version sold to the Senate. Debate Topic Two, which held up the defense authorization bill, was an amendment requiring the administration to adhere to the terms of the SALT II treaty, which the Senate refused to ratify in 1979.

The hoopla surrounding the signing of this latest treaty conceals a hard fact: The entire Washington community, from one end of Pennsylvania Avenue to the other, of late has suffered a fundamental loss of seriousness about the direction and purpose of Western security. We suspect that many in Washington, Democrats and Republicans, know this to be so. Will any of them soon begin redefining an agenda that forces the West to work on its defense, instead of mostly talking about it?

Arms control, we fear, has become the heavy-metal music of Western foreign policy—a seemingly addictive pursuit of otherwise normal people. There seems to be a difference, though, at least so far. After a

heavy metal concert, the audience goes back to the real world.

AN ECHO

For the first time in history, the language of "arms control" was replaced by "arms reduction"—in this case the complete elimination of an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles.—Ronald Reagan, on signing the INF treaty yesterday.

The first international agreement since World War II to provide for the actual elimination of an entire class of weapons from the arsenal of nations.—Richard Nixon, in his official message on the Convention on Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Biological and Toxin Weapons and Their Destruction, 1972.

[From the Washington Post]

TAKE A "TIMEOUT" ON THE INF TREATY

(By Frank J. Gaffney Jr.)

Dear Mr. President, in your recent moving statement accepting Casper Weinberger's resignation, you praised your secretary of defense for his service to the country in many ways. One of the most striking to me was the recognition you extended to him for his handling of several controversies for which he has been roundly criticized by others.

I am speaking of the highly publicized revelations during Secretary Weinberger's tenure of several instances of cost overruns and other failures of the Defense Department's procurement system. Despite the fact that for most of the past seven years, Cap has been caricatured, with a \$500 toilet seat around his neck, you rightly credited him with finding and fixing these problems. In thus commending Secretary Weinberger for his unwillingness to tolerate inadequate performance and unsatisfactory products where they were found, you have set an example that we should emulate.

In this spirit, I write to express my concern that your administration and the nation may shortly become embroiled in a new controversy over inadequate workmanship and insufficient quality control. This one doesn't involve coffeepots or "gold-plated" hammers; rather, it involves an agreement with our adversary to eliminate all intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe. The analogy, however, may be useful in illuminating the causes of my concern.

Like so many of the procurement horror stories, the basis approach was entirely acceptable. Your administration has for six years sought an INF agreement based on a sound structure—the so-called "zero option." As a direct result of our patience, tenacity and alliance cohesion, an accord based on this principle is at hand.

If there is a problem with the INF treaty, it will in all likelihood be a result of the same phenomena that occasionally mar defense procurements: unexpected complexity, unanticipated scheduling pressures and corners that had to be cut to get the job completed within the time and resources available. The responsibility for such a problem would not, of course, lie with some contractor or procurement official; indeed, it may not lie with any single individual. Yet the consequences can be every bit as unpleasant and contrary to the national interest—or more so.

My guess is that, if there are resultant problems with the treaty, they will lie in the area of verification. This may seem incredible in view of its unprecedented provisions

for intrusive on-site inspection and continuous monitoring of selected U.S. and Soviet facilities. On the face of it, such measures seem to go so far beyond what has been negotiated in support of past arms control agreements that many will conclude that the treaty is, by definition, verifiable.

Unfortunately, the INF treaty can have a range of novel verification measures undreamed of by the framers of the flawed SALT II accord and still not enable us to ensure Soviet compliance. It is for precisely this reason that your administration early on enunciated as a matter of policy a requirement for "effective verification" of any future agreement.

While this term can mean many things, for us it has always had certain cardinal features in the INF context: elimination of the entire infrastructure for supporting INF missiles; comprehensive exchanges of detailed, internally consistent data about the forces being controlled; clear, unambiguous treaty text; and short-notice on-site inspection not only at present and formerly declared facilities associated with treaty-limited items, but also at suspect sites.

This sound verification agenda was made necessary by bitter past experience with Soviet cheating on arms control agreements. If we have failed to keep in mind past lessons in the rush to finish an accord on INF in time for the summit, the risks to the national interest will vastly exceed the damage done by high-priced coffeepots and toilet seats. The prescription for addressing the problem should be the same, however: spare no effort to uncover and assess the errors and accept whatever inconvenience might be caused in fixing them.

In this vein, Mr. President, I urge you to do what Cap Weinberger would have done in a comparable procurement situation, namely call a "time-out" take stock of the situation with the best experts you can find and, if necessary, make adjustments to correct any deficiencies revealed in the process. A week remains before you will be asked to sign the INF Treaty; I strongly recommend that you use that week to review the treaty with key individuals, particularly members of the Senate and others outside the government who are likely to be influential in the upcoming ratification debate. After you and they have had a chance to read the fine print, several questions must be addressed:

Does the treaty actually eliminate the Soviet Union's INF missile infrastructure and capacity?

Is the Soviet-supplied data complete, consistent and compatible with our own intelligence estimates of treaty-limited systems and activities?

Does the treaty language have important ambiguities or loopholes or provisions that otherwise might lend themselves to future debates about meaning and interpretation?

Is there an effective on-site inspection regime for suspect facilities?

If the answer to one or more of these questions is no, by finding it out now—before you sign the treaty—it is possible to seek adjustments with the Soviet Union and avoid these issues' becoming a matter of Senate debate and amendment.

Naturally, many will say such an idea is out of the question. They will maintain that this is the best agreement we can get with the Soviet Union, that it cannot be improved. In this regard, I remember how often Cap Weinberger was told that a nonperforming contractor was doing the best he could or that there was no alternative to accepting an inferior product. To my knowl-

edge, he never failed to reject that advice and to set in train the necessary, albeit sometimes inconvenient, corrective steps.

For that matter, your own experience in negotiating with the Soviet Union has decisively demonstrated that determined insistence on sound arms control terms is rewarded in due course by Soviet movement toward our position. Nowhere should this be a more likely outcome than in the area of verification, where Soviet rhetoric about openness and transparency have recently reached new heights.

So, if it comes to that, "Just say no." The United States will not accept another unverifiable arms control agreement, no matter how smartly it is packaged in verification "break-throughs," steps which for all their novelty will not materially alter the difficult task of ensuring Soviet compliance. After all, there is a lot more riding on this than a bad report card from the General Accounting Office.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Dec. 9, 1987]

EUROPE'S INF MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

(By Jean-Marie Benoist, Hans Huyn and Gerald Frost)

Mr. President: As longstanding admirers of your great personal contribution to the cause of freedom we wish to draw your attention, and that of the Senate, to the risks inherent in the agreement now signed to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear forces from Europe. Although we would like to convince ourselves otherwise, we believe that the accord will seriously and adversely change the balance of military and political forces within Europe in favor of the Soviet Union.

We are also fearful that unless NATO defenses are buttressed by a range of compensatory measures the agreement may set in train a course of events that will progressively undermine the fragile cohesion of the Western Alliance.

Ours is not, we think, a Euro-centric view. We fear that the accord will damage the influence and reputation of the United States, upon which all free, democratic societies remain dependent. It also will damage the vital interests of the U.S. itself. We must therefore decline to join in the summit euphoria that has gripped so many and that brings to mind unfortunate historical precedents. Rather, we would respectfully ask you—and by means of this open letter, members of the Senate who will soon be asked to ratify the accord—to consider the following:

The zero-zero option will remove a vital part of the architecture of deterrence that cannot be replaced soon. The cruise and Pershing II missiles serve a combination of functions that are essential to NATO strategy in an age of growing Soviet military superiority. The missiles make a general contribution to deterrence through their ability to reach targets deep within the Soviet Union—a capability not matched by any other U.S. land-based missile in Europe. The missiles link the European pillar of the alliance to the American pillar. They provide a crucial element between the level of tactical missiles and the strategic level. Take away that vital rung in the escalatory ladder and you immediately throw into question the mutual transatlantic involvement and solidarity that have preserved the peace in Europe for 40 years.

It is also important to bear in mind that the Soviet SS-20s no longer present the

same threat to Western Europe they once did: the strategic and political value of their removal may therefore be exaggerated. This is partly because, by the latest standards, the SS-20 lacks accuracy and sophistication. Indeed, it will soon be obsolete.

Meanwhile, the Soviets are modernizing their nuclear arsenals by the inclusion of such weapons as the SS-24 that are outside the scope of the agreement. Thus, although the Soviets will give up many more warheads than the U.S., there is no balance or symmetry in this exchange. Even in the short term the accord will not exclude the possibility of an intermediate-range nuclear strike against Europe: The Warsaw Pact may simply re-target a proportion of its Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles against Europe.

It should also be remembered that if the Soviets break the agreement—as they have violated earlier deals—or find ways of avoiding its provision, it is unlikely that any American president will be able to put the missiles back. It is doubtful, too, whether it would be possible to create a European consensus in favor of the missiles' re-deployment. At a later date some European nations may have been effectively neutralized.

We regret that you have not followed the advice of European political leaders who urged that what was needed to preserve deterrence in Europe was not the zero-zero option but a balanced reduction of INF forces. Perhaps the Europeans did not speak sufficiently, clearly and consistently. We fully understand that Americans must be irritated by Europeans who appear ambivalent or hostile to the U.S. position when so many of their fellow Europeans have pushed you relentlessly in the direction of the negotiating table.

These comments, however, come from those who have publicly supported both the case for INF deployment throughout and the case for SDI program. We are not partisans of the arms race for its own sake and we emphatically are not opposed to arms reduction in principle. Indeed, we are saddened to read that you recently dismissed informed criticism of the INF deal as coming from those who believed nuclear conflict was in any case inevitable.

SDI, the British and French strategic nuclear deterrents, Pershing II, cruise missiles, shorter-range intermediate nuclear weapons, the N-bomb and conventional weaponry—all these interdependent assets complicate the calculations of the Soviet military planner and so deter attack. This may not be the case if the Soviet Union comes to believe that a conventional land battle waged in Europe can be successfully fought without risk of a nuclear response. Clearly, the Soviet political leadership already believes the new agreement brings it closer to securing its related objectives of achieving a nuclear-free Europe and of dividing that continent from its Atlantic partner.

All this we have explained at length to our countrymen. Our friends will be baffled and our adversaries delighted if the great political and strategic victory represented by the INF deployment is now to be canceled. Such an eventuality would provide the most unexpected and welcome encouragement to neutralists and unilateralists who in Holland, Belgium, West Germany and Britain lost the game and were proved wrong.

Americanism scarcely provides evidence of brilliant statecraft. Whatever show of unity Western politicians may now feel obliged to provide, the inescapable truth is that the

West has been comprehensively outplayed. We run the risk of a denuclearized, neutralist West Germany, which in our view would be fatal to the alliance. Europe generally may be plunged into a worse state of doubt than that which existed prior to INF deployment. All this because in our haste for an agreement the arms-control process became an end in itself.

As Frank Barnett has written: "We have played at the arms-limitation table now for more than 60 years, first against Nazi Germany and Japan, then against the Soviet Empire. For the most part we gained little more than the euphoria of being seen at the Peace Casino while our adversaries went home to convert 'lawful' winnings into larger stockpiles of more advanced weapons."

It is one thing to strike a spectacular arms deal with one's adversary. It is another to preserve the conditions of peace and freedom. We remember the president who once denounced the "empire of evil" and who courageously scorned fashionable opinion in order to build up Western defenses. To that president we wish renewed courage, resolve, and good fortune. We extend no less to the Members of the United States Senate to whom the burden of a historic responsibility now passes.

[From the USA Today, Sept. 21, 1987]

TREATY AND SUMMIT GIVE AWAY TOO MUCH (By Richard F. Staar)

STANFORD, Calif.—About 10 years ago, after much persuasion by the U.S. Government, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt laid his political future on the line and publicly announced that West Germany would accept U.S. enhanced-radiation warheads.

These neutron weapons could have reduced NATO vulnerability to a Warsaw Pact invasion. When President Carter suddenly canceled the deployment, our allies began doubting the U.S. commitment to the defense of Western Europe.

Before the end of 1987, a Republican president probably will further undermine the relationship with our NATO allies by beginning to withdraw U.S. ground-launched cruise and Pershing 2 missiles. The facts are clear that:

It is the West which requires a deterrent against the East, and not vice versa.

With a 2-1 or even 3-1 advantage in aircraft, tanks, artillery, and ground division equivalents, the Warsaw Pact will continue increasingly to threaten NATO.

Removing a key part of the U.S. nuclear umbrella inevitably will "uncouple" the USA from Western Europe.

The only choice left for NATO will be to band together around the British and French independent nuclear deterrents or submit to Soviet blandishments.

Leaders in allied countries risked their political credibility when accepting intermediate-range nuclear weapons in 1983. By pulling them out now, the USA, in effect, will be supporting the leftist opposition. Social Democrats in West Germany already are making deals with the ruling Communist Party in East Germany. If the Social Democrats win the next election, these agreements will become treaties.

Why is it that Washington remained so cavalier in ignoring Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and Premier Jacques Chirac, all of whom questioned the complete elimination of intermediate-range weapons? Why did the administration not bother to consider the views of a former Republican secretary of state, the

Democratic chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, the immediate past NATO commander?

Nobody even bothers to recall Lenin's statement: Treaties are like pie crusts, made to be broken. Only last year, the Arms Control and Disarmament agency issued a 17-page report, Soviet Noncompliance, which lists repeated USSR violations of international agreements. What does Washington propose to do when the one on INF is broken?

Mikhail Gorbachev, described by senior politbureaucrat Andrie Gromyko as "a communist with teeth of steel," will be smiling when he meets with President Reagan in the Oval Office.

[From the Washington Times, Sept. 21, 1987]

INF: THE PERILS OF EUPHORIA

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz stole the headlines with the Friday announcement of the virtual completion of a treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces. That treaty, which would eliminate all intermediate range nuclear missiles on the continent, may be profoundly flawed.

The chief argument in its favor is that the Soviets would have to remove more than 1,300 warheads, while we would only have to dismantle 300-400. But this "advantage" won't amount to much if diplomats don't agree on a reasonable "verification regime."

As we and others have pointed out before, intermediate range missiles are virtually impossible to detect, regardless of elaborate treaty provisions. They typically are small, mobile, difficult if not impossible to enumerate accurately, and can become ICBMs by the simple addition of an extra stage. They can also be produced in underground or otherwise concealed factories. Even with the much-ballyhooed on-site inspection, we can inspect only sites that we suspect conceal treaty violations. Any acceptable treaty must address these inherently insurmountable obstacles to reliable verification.

Second, even if the Soviets, in an unprecedented deviation from their long tradition of cheating, decide to abide by the treaty, the resulting imbalance of conventional forces in Europe will lead ineluctably to the Finlandization of that continent. With Soviet troops and armor vastly outnumbering those of Western European and American forces and with their spatial proximity to the European theater, an immense domino would begin to sway, psychologically and politically, toward the East. Only massive increases in defense spending by both the United States and its European allies could hope to balance the scales, and in both America and Europe the political objections to such spending would more than likely prevail.

The awful threat of nuclear exchanges has helped Europe experience a 42-year peace, something it hasn't enjoyed since the emergence of nation-states. It is no coincidence that peace has reigned in the "nuclear" world since World War II, while millions have died in conventional wars in non-nuclear Southeast Asia, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua. NATO Secretary-General Lord Carrington, not exactly the firmest opponent of arms control, took the occasion of the joint Soviet-American statement to warn that his NATO colleagues "should not let any euphoria it engenders push us toward some mythical non-nuclear Nirvana."

The U.S. acceptance of the "rush to détente" not only undercuts anti-Soviet forces in Europe, but also conduces to the erosion of confidence in the United States itself. That such erosion should occur under Ronald Reagan is as inexplicable as it is shameful, especially since it could only encourage further destabilizing disarmament.

Also shameful is the apparent willingness of the administration to forego any serious pressure on the Soviets to come to terms with regional conflicts in Afghanistan, Nicaragua or southern Africa, or to address human rights issues in the vast penitentiary that calls itself the Soviet Union. The terse and vacuous sentences in the joint statement issued last week—"the secretary and foreign minister also discussed regional issues," and "a constructive discussion of human rights issues and humanitarian questions took place"—may tell far more than they intended and far less than what was desirable.

The Soviets, with their inimitable comprehension of the Western will to believe good of their enemies, prepared for Mr. Shevardnadze's visit two weeks ago by releasing a quota of highly visible Jewish political prisoners, and have engaged in peace offensives in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and Angola. But as Natan Sharansky told us (and presumably Mr. Shultz in his later meeting with him), there remain nameless thousands more in the glasnost gulag. There has been no structural change in the Soviet system.

What emerged last week was not, of course, the final draft of a treaty, but it is now clear that a treaty will be concluded and sent to the Senate. Mr. Reagan will meet Mr. Gorbachev, probably in November, by which time the political and psychological urge for completion and further movement to strategic arms talks will be at full throttle. This may fulfill the Reagan family's desire to make history, but one should always remember that in securing peace, Neville Chamberlain also made history—and propelled Europe into the Second World War.

SMOKELESS TOBACCO

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, I wish to call to the attention of the U.S. Senate an example of true corporate responsibility in the form of a public awareness campaign being conducted by the Smokeless Tobacco Council on behalf of the Nation's manufacturers of chewing tobacco and snuff.

The industry's "Because We Care" program is an honest, admirable attempt to inform parents, teachers, athletes, coaches, tobacco retailers, and other youth authority figures of the industry's longstanding policy: "Smokeless tobacco is not for kids." In the industry's view, the use of smokeless tobacco products has long been and should remain an adult concern.

The code of the smokeless tobacco industry, which is strictly adhered to by the members of the Smokeless Tobacco Council, governs the industry's advertising and marketing practices. The code states: " . . . the subscribing members confirm 18 years as the minimum age for purchase of smokeless tobacco products."

I commend the smokeless tobacco industry and the Smokeless Tobacco

Council for maintaining this worthwhile public awareness effort at considerable expense. It is in the best traditions of responsible, enlightened corporate public participation.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, for everyone's edification, the text of the "Because We Care" booklet produced by the council, explaining their campaign in detail.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BECAUSE WE CARE

BECAUSE WE CARE . . .

For many years, the members of the Smokeless Tobacco Council have adhered to The Code of the Smokeless Tobacco Industry, a strict code of ethics governing the marketing and advertising of chewing tobacco and snuff. The Code is based on the firm belief that the use of smokeless tobacco is an adult custom properly reserved for adults only.

The members of the Smokeless Tobacco Council actively discourage those under 18 years of age from using smokeless tobacco products.

The industry sponsors the Because We Care program to inform parents, teachers, elementary and high school coaches, retailers and other youth authority figures about the official policies governing its products.

Program goals include: Discourage those under 18 from using smokeless tobacco; enlist the help of parents, teachers and others in enforcing this policy; and urge individual states to set 18 as the minimum age of purchase for smokeless tobacco.

Since inception of the public awareness campaign in 1985, millions of adult Americans have seen, read and heard these messages sponsored by the Smokeless Tobacco Council.

POINT OF PURCHASE MATERIALS

Because retailers have the ability to sell, or not to sell, smokeless tobacco products to youth, they form a critical link in the chain of enforcement of the industry's minimum age policy. Therefore, materials developed to reach retailers are a principal element of Because We Care . . .

Point of sale materials—developed to discourage retailers selling smokeless tobacco to those underage—were distributed to more than 50,000 retail stores in 1985-86. One piece urges retailers to limit sales of smokeless tobacco products to those over 18 years of age, while a second informational placard asks purchasers not to be offended if proof of age is required by the retailer.

NATIONAL ADVERTISING

The total number of readers who have read the Smokeless Tobacco Council's public information messages in newspapers, general interest publications and special interest magazines easily approaches 25 million adults over the last two years.

From Parade Magazine and the Washington Post to Convenience Store News, the U.S. Tobacco & Candy Journal and Education Week, the Smokeless Tobacco Council's messages have reached into America's homes, offices, stores, factories and meeting rooms, educating adults about the smokeless tobacco industry's responsible marketing, advertising and sales policies.

"Some things are still for adults only" was the message that premiered in 1956-86, to be followed in 1986 by four "Open Letters"

to parents, coaches, teachers and retailers, asking their cooperation educating the nation's youth about the industry's minimum age policy.

MODEL LEGISLATION

As part of its comprehensive approach to informing those in authority about its policies, the smokeless tobacco industry has worked closely with local, state and federal officials over the last three years in an effort to have laws passed establishing uniform age of purchase regulations at the state level.

It is significant that the industry's position is in complete accord with that of the Department of Health and Human Services, as expressed in an official letter in October 1986, by Secretary Otis R. Bowen, who wrote in part: "This Department urges that all jurisdictions establish 18 as the minimum age of purchase for cigarettes and other tobacco products."

MINIMUM AGE OF PURCHASE

The draft legislation developed by the smokeless tobacco industry to govern the sale of purchase of smokeless tobacco products states:

"Sec. 1. Sale of smokeless tobacco products.—It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, corporation, partnership, or any other entity engaged in the sale of smokeless tobacco products to knowingly sell, barter, give, or in any way furnish to a person under the age of eighteen (18) years any smokeless tobacco products, including chewing tobacco, snuff, or any other form of smokeless tobacco.

"Sec. 2. Purchase of smokeless tobacco products.—It shall be unlawful for any person under the age of eighteen (18) years to purchase, barter, or in any other way receive from any person, firm, corporation, partnership, or any other entity engaged in the sale of smokeless tobacco products any smokeless tobacco product, including chewing tobacco, snuff, or any other form of smokeless tobacco."

SUPPORTING TESTIMONY

On behalf of the industry, the Smokeless Tobacco Council has testified and written letters in support of 18 years as the minimum age for purchase of smokeless tobacco products to such state legislatures as Colorado, Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia.

In this effort, Michael J. Kerrigan, president of the Smokeless Tobacco Council, has stated " . . . the industry has encouraged state legislatures to limit the sale or distribution of smokeless tobacco products to those persons 18 years of age or older."

CONTINUING EFFORTS

The Smokeless Tobacco Council continually seeks to inform the public, members of Congress, state legislators, parents, teachers, coaches, retailers and others in positions of youth guidance about its longstanding policies regarding use of smokeless tobacco products. The Council welcomes responsible commentary on its programs.

For further information, please contact: the Smokeless Tobacco Council, Inc., 1925 K Street NW, Suite 504, Washington, DC 20006.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PERHAPS ARIAS COULD ASK ORTEGA

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, as I stand here today, 3 days after our early Saturday morning debate on aid to the Nicaraguan "freedom fighters," I can still hear echoes of the passionate pleas of Contra aid opponents: "Give the peace process a chance."

Apparently, Daniel Ortega was not listening.

A high ranking defector from the Sandinista army now tells us of a secret plan, hatched by Ortega and his Communist comrades, to triple the size of the Sandinista army—an army already larger than all the other armies of Central America combined—to triple it to 600,000 men; a plan to import massive amounts of new Soviet arms and equipment, including Mig fighters; a plan to expand their support to the Communist insurgency in El Salvador.

And, let me note, Daniel Ortega's own brother, in a public speech in Managua, confirms that this defector is telling the truth.

Perhaps the next time Costa Rican President Arias talks with his fellow peacemaker, Daniel Ortega, he can inquire exactly why the Sandinistas will need a 600,000 man army, 5 or 6 years after the Arias plan is supposed to be fully implemented? Why he plans to expand aid to the Salvadoran insurgents, in direct violation of the Arias plan?

Or, even more interesting, perhaps President Arias can inquire of his friend, exactly what he meant in his speech in Managua yesterday—when he said, and I quote:

If the Sandinista front is ready to give up power in the hypothetical case that it loses an election, what it would give up would be the Government, but not the power. In the hypothetical case that the people became deranged, and an opposition party were elected, this party could govern—as long as it respected the established power; and we will be ready to defend "respect" for this established power, end of his quotation.

Those were Daniel Ortega's remarks, not mine.

Daniel Ortega is a self-styled "democrat," a self-styled "peacemaker."

But unlike the biblical peacemaker—who will inherit the Earth—Ortega is a more modest Communist peacemaker: He just wants El Salvador, Costa Rica, and a couple of his other neighbors.

Mr. President, do not listen to me; do not listen to BOB DOLE, or Ronald Reagan, or anyone of the others among us who have worked so hard to restore democracy, and true peace, to Central America.

Listen to Daniel Ortega, "democrat and peacemaker." Believe what he says. That is all you have to do.

Mr. President, the reason I think this is rather important, at this time a conference is going on now and because of the bipartisan majority—about 1:30 a.m. on Saturday morning—there was a \$9 million figure in that plan for continued humanitarian aid to the contras.

It would seem to me in light of the story which broke the next day we should certainly have at least \$9 million, perhaps even more, if in fact, and I guess it is a fact, that Daniel Ortega has made these great plans. I would also suggest that while many people are still recovering from glasnost fever, maybe Mr. Gorbachev may have known something about all these plans and maybe they were discussed in the summit last week, but if not it ought to give us pause to understand as many of us do—I think everybody in this Chamber—that Mr. Gorbachev is a Communist.

I am not certain Mr. Gorbachev has given up hope of world domination, or if he ever entertained it, but it would seem to me there is every good reason for all of us, and I am certain all of us will on both sides of the aisle, keep one eye on what Mr. Gorbachev said when he was here and another eye on what he may do now that he is back in the Soviet Union, a godless society where people have little freedom and a very low standard of living. Now it is time for Mr. Gorbachev to start producing. Maybe it is human rights. Maybe it is Afghanistan. Maybe it is the Persian Gulf. Maybe it is Nicaragua. Maybe it is Angola. Maybe it is Kampuchea. So now is the time for the American people, who by a wide margin support the INF agreement, to again judge Mr. Gorbachev in other areas that are equally as important.

So I just suggest that this news that broke over the weekend, in my view, is highly significant. It indicates to me that Daniel Ortega has no intention of following the Arias peace plan.

And if I were Mr. Arias, I would be a little concerned. Costa Rica does not have any army. If Mr. Ortega is going to build his up to 600,000 men, I would be a little nervous if I were President of that country. I would want to know if, in fact, Mr. Ortega is helping Nicaragua and El Salvador. We have invested a lot of money in El Salvador. We have invested a lot of confidence in Mr. Duarte.

It just seems to this Senator, in light of the weekend events and statements that have been confirmed by Daniel Ortega's brother, that we ought to be

a little wary of how far we go out on a limb in an effort to satisfy some—yes, some in this country—who always make our Government or portray our Government as the aggressor or the bad guy and stand up for the likes of Daniel Ortega and the Sandinista Communists who control that country and who deprive the poor Nicaraguan people of the freedom they deserve.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I was disturbed by what I read and heard over the weekend in connection with Daniel Ortega; his brother, General Ortega; and the defector Major Miranda. I would really like to know more about what goes on here that does not appear to the naked eye.

I feel that it is all the more imperative that our Government have some direct discussions with Mr. Ortega. He has indicated his willingness to enter into bilateral discussions. He has also indicated his willingness to get rid of Soviet influence in his country—advisers, equipment, no Soviet bases, et cetera.

It seems to me we ought to make him show down on these by having direct discussions with him. Let us see if he really means what he says. Let us see if he really means to cut the military umbilical cord with the U.S.S.R. I have my doubts, but what better way to find out than to have the bilateral discussions that he has said he is willing to enter into and put the matter directly to him; see if we can ascertain what his real intentions, motives, and assurances add up to.

I wrote to Secretary Shultz some time ago and urged that, indeed, through direct discussions, we find out if Mr. Ortega really means what he says about his willingness to cut the military umbilical cord to the Soviet Union. Thus far, I have gotten no response.

In the light of this past weekend's revelations, I am writing to Mr. Shultz again and renewing my proposal. Let us put the burden on Mr. Ortega and do it in direct discussions. We can see with our own eyes and hear with our own ears and speak with our own mouths directly.

THE INF TREATY

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the distinguished Republican leader, in referring to the events of the weekend, reminds me that I had a telephone call this past weekend, on Saturday, as I do from time to time—the former President of the United States, Richard Nixon, called me. Regardless of events that have occurred in the past, I still have a fond feeling for Richard Nixon. I had a personal affection for him when he was President and I still have that warm, personal affection for him.

He called me, and we talked a little while. He urged that the Senate approve the ratification of the INF Treaty. He said that for the Senate not to approve the ratification now, would create—to use his words—"a chaotic political situation in Europe." He stated his understanding of the need for careful examination of the treaty, its verification processes and all that; he does not take the position that the Senate ought to just blindfold itself and accept every provision and every word of the treaty—but after the Senate has the opportunity to examine, through careful, thorough hearings, the treaty and all of its provisions and satisfy itself as to the adequateness of the verification procedures, President Nixon thinks the treaty worthy of approval.

I know there are Members in this body who have concerns, and I have some. But I believe it appropriate to state for the *Record* that former President Nixon called me in support of the treaty.

I also received a call from Cy Vance, and he is supportive of the treaty. I got that call only yesterday.

So, for me, I continue to look with a positive view on the treaty. But I also want to say that I do not share the view of those who imply that the Senate has no responsibility but to act as a rubber stamp; that it is just supposed to roll over and play dead and place its full trust and confidence in our negotiators—this administration or any other administration—without taking the steps to satisfy itself as to such things.

Presently, I have a feeling that, after careful consideration, we will satisfy ourselves and find that the treaty's provisions are such that we can approve the ratification of it. I have a feeling we will find that the verification procedures which, on their face, seem to be very adequate, are indeed adequate. I do not understand all of the terminology that is used—obviously, those of our negotiators who are well schooled in the terminology and who have sat for months and months and months and talked with the Soviets can enlighten us—I would like to get a better understanding of the verification procedures. I am sure there will be some questions.

I compliment the Republican leader who insists that he wants to fulfill his responsibilities under the Constitution as a Senator and as an elected leader in the Senate; and he will have an important part to play. Without his support, I doubt that there would be two-thirds support for this treaty.

But, obviously all has not been said and all that can be known is not yet known. The Republican leader is taking the position that he feels this Senate has a role to play, a constitutional responsibility, and he intends to fulfill it. He will fulfill it according to

his own lights, not according to mine or somebody else's. He will reach a judgment after he has carefully weighed the pros and cons, and when he feels that he has satisfied himself as to the facts he will do that. That is what I am going to do.

I think we are in danger of being over-Gorbed. The circuits have been overloaded with the events of this past weekend. I was amazed and somewhat disappointed to read the poll in this morning's paper that Mr. Gorbachev had a more favorable rating in the United States than does Mr. Reagan. This is somewhat perplexing. I am sure that will change. But there are those who have been practically swooning over the fact that the Soviet leader got out on the street and shook a few hands. He is an able politician. He did not get where he is in the Soviet Union by being a nice guy. Nice guys do not end up first in Communist countries. They end up last.

There is, underneath that smile and that handshake, a flintlike hardness, toughness. So as we look at the INF Treaty, we need also to look farther down the road and consider very carefully where we go from here.

Let us talk to our allies and get their advice on this, too. Where do we go from here?

Let us not permit all this momentum that seems to be developing for the next treaty and the next summit wholly sweep us off our feet.

I think Senators are going to be more skeptical of rushing forward too fast, too soon with a reduction in our strategic arsenal of 50 percent. I say to friend and foe alike, let's stay sober, and not allow the euphoria with respect to another summit sweep us in its wake. We had better take a good look in time. That is what I intend to do.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, if the majority leader would yield?

Mr. BYRD. Yes, I yield.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader yields to the minority leader.

Mr. DOLE. The majority leader made a number of good points and I want to indicate that this morning at 10:30, our little coordinating group on our side, there are 10 of us from the Intelligence Committee, the observer group, Armed Services and Foreign Relations, met with the President on INF. And I think it is fair to say the President clearly understands the very appropriate role that we play in the U.S. Senate and he understands that there may be some areas that we need to address. As the majority leader said: conventional weapons. We should not wait until this treaty is implemented 3 years from now after ratification. We ought to be addressing those issues now. Is it going to cost more money? Can we obtain more funding for catch-up in conventional weapons, if the So-

viet's refuse to reduce what they now enjoy as a rather large disparity?

So, it was a good meeting. I told the President I have not heard of a single Senator on either side of the aisle say flatly they are against the treaty. But I have heard 20 or 30 Senators say, on both sides of the aisle, that we are not rubberstamps. We have a constitutional role to play. Apparently our Founding Fathers felt it was important enough to put it in the Constitution. And not every treaty that has come to this body has been ratified—or authorized to be ratified, as the distinguished majority leader knows.

So I think we are making progress in the meantime. Many of us are talking to different people inside and outside the administration, trying to satisfy ourselves on verification; on whether or not our allies support the treaty. We know they say that publicly. Is that the case? And what we may need to address, between now and the time the treaty is before the Senate, which I would guess, according to the majority leader's statement, the White House—may be sometime late March or early spring.

The President did say this morning that there had been no date set for another summit. He is not so anxious for another summit that he is going to say well, let us do it on May 1, and then we will force action on everything else. He knows that cannot be done. He is not that anxious to do it.

When it comes to the START agreement, then I share the view of the majority leader; it is going to be much more difficult. Verification is easier when it is zero. It can be more difficult when it is a 50 percent reduction.

So it is going to be a whole different approach. But, notwithstanding, as one Senator reminded the White House today, let us not get carried away with public opinion polls. Everyone wants an arms reduction. I am surprised it is not 100 percent instead of 70-some percent. But I doubt that a half of 1 percent really analyzed the treaty.

I will bet if you ask the next question: do you believe the Russians will carry out the terms of this agreement, you would have a pretty high negative rating.

So we want it to work. We want the Soviets—we want to live in peace with the Soviets and all those things. We want arms reduction. But not at the expense of the future security of this country long after we are gone.

So there is a lot of euphoria; there is glasnost fever. The word I think the majority leader used I think is even better. We have been "Gorba-ized," or whatever.

Mr. BYRD. "Over-Gorb'd."

Mr. DOLE. I think everyone will have their feet back on the ground one of these days and the American

people will begin to understand as I said before when Gorbachev left on Thursday night he flew back into a closed society in the Soviet Union, a godless society, a very low standard of living and very few freedoms.

We all woke up the next morning in America, the freest country on the face of the Earth. We can go where we want to, travel where we want to, whatever.

So there is a big, big difference in our systems. Gorbachev was an attractive, tough, and compelling to some, person. He is also new and fresh. The American people like that.

I would guess, as the majority leader said, that we are not going to make judgments around here based on opinion polls. If the majority leader did not say that, then someone else did.

If we do that in the Congress, we might as well give up. We will make judgments based on what we believe to be in the best interests, in this case the future relations and the treaty itself, and future treaties. I have to believe that when it is all said and done, there will be a big, big vote for the treaty, a big vote, a bipartisan vote. But let us get there. Let us do what we should do.

I know the majority leader has already started ahead of us with his coordinating group. We are doing the same and the White House is doing the same. I think we are all on the same wave length now.

TRIBUTE TO THE MAJORITY LEADER

Mr. President, before I conclude, I wanted to make a comment the other morning at 3 a.m., but I did not do it. I wanted to compliment the majority leader for what I thought was a remarkable performance in both the reconciliation package and the continuing resolution. If anyone had told anyone in this body on either side that we were going to complete those two things in a couple of days, they would have said, "Yes, what else? Get your head examined" or something.

But the majority leader stayed right on the floor and pushed, pushed, pushed, and we did it. Even the President thinks the Senate did an outstanding job. He told us so this morning. He did not think we would do it that quickly.

Mr. President, in my view, we did it because Senator BYRD made up his mind we were going to finish and we had our work to do. I think there were some faint-hearted people who wanted to maybe put it off until Saturday about 10 o'clock Friday night. I may have been in that group for a while. But in any event we did not do that. We finished it. Now all we have left to do is finish the conference reports and a few other things the majority leader mentioned to me earlier.

There is every good hope that we may be gone for Christmas by the weekend.

I thank the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the very distinguished Republican leader. He played a very considerable part in the work and accomplishment to which he has referred.

Mr. President, I do not in my remarks attempt to play down the importance of the recent summit and what was accomplished. I simply seek to find a proper center of gravity.

As I recall, Mr. Gorbachev did not give up anything on Afghanistan. He did not give up anything on Nicaragua. He did not give up anything on conventional weapons. He did not give up anything on human rights. He indicated he was quite irritated that the question on human rights kept arising. He will become more irritated, I am sure, before it is over with. That question will continue to arise as well regarding Afghanistan and conventional weapons and Iran, the Persian Gulf.

Mr. President, I believe the sooner we get back down on the ground the better it will be. I believe that the INF Treaty will be approved and I am positively inclined to support it. But let us not engage in wishful thinking. Those who may see another treaty before the summer is out, if they harbor any idea that it will be called up and approved before this year is out, they have some sobering up to do. It will take a lot more time.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that morning business continue for an additional 30 minutes and that Senators may speak therein.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The absence of a quorum having been suggested, the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WIRTH). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE PEARL HARBOR SUMMIT: INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, this past Thursday, December 10, I discussed in this Chamber some historical parallels in the 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and last week's visit to Washington by Mr. Gorbachev.

Today I believe we should look at the impact of the Gorbachev visit on our future society and our future relations with other nations. Therefore, my comment today will address the international strategic considerations, using strategic in the broad sense—that is, not only in the military sense, but in the cultural, economic, and social senses as well.

Mr. President, it is not yet time for close examination of the INF treaty itself; that must come after careful study and intensive questioning of the negotiators and other experts. I am more concerned today with the side effects—the associated changes triggered by the treaty—than with problems in the treaty itself. We must ask ourselves whether there are not obvious perils that actions taken during this summit might pose not only for our country but for the free world.

The principal purpose of the summit, we were told, was the INF Treaty. In reality, the summit in fact has been a public relations contest. As time passes, as the euphoria of the moment subsides, we could well be left with destructive consequences that were not foreseen.

Mr. President, we must also ponder whether the consequences of this summit could well lead to the dismantling of the free world, indeed, to the eclipse of the leadership of the United States. Despite the well-orchestrated official voices, will this summit result in the disintegration of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the disintegration of the Rio Treaty? Will we find ourselves isolated as a nation, within a hostile world dominated by the Soviet empire? Under such conditions, can our way of life—the order and values established under our Constitution—remain secure?

SOVIET STRATEGY AND THE DESTRUCTION OF NATO

In my view, Mr. President, the very negotiations for the INF Treaty, whatever the technical issues in the final document, could well spell the beginning of the end of the NATO Alliance. Mr. Gorbachev is engaged in a strategic deception of the most sweeping kind and our State Department has spared no effort to lead our President into an arms control trap. Other pressures include the effort of the major

United States banks and the multinational corporations which almost always seek to advance their narrow special interests at the expense of the security of their country by expanding commercial relations with the Soviet bloc.

Since its formation, the NATO Alliance has been a primary target of the Soviet Union. Moscow has bent every effort to destroy NATO through psychological and political subversion. In Soviet strategy, the destruction of NATO would permit the Finlandization of western Europe. With western Europe Finlandized, the Soviet Union has a freer hand to proceed against the United States—which the Kremlin characterizes as its "main enemy."

Mr. President, the principal objectives of current Soviet global strategy are:

One, the strategic encirclement of western Europe and the dismemberment of the NATO Alliance.

Two, the strategic encirclement of the Arabian Peninsula.

Three, the strategic encirclement of southern Africa.

Four, the strategic encirclement of China pending a rapprochement between Moscow and Peking.

Five, the strategic isolation of the Western Hemisphere and the dismemberment of the Rio Treaty.

Six, the strategic encirclement of the United States.

Mr. President, even a brief review of the systematic Soviet aggression and expansion in recent years demonstrates the Kremlin's carefully laid strategy. The Soviet Union, as the world has seen, has successfully placed Marxist-Leninist regimes in power in Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua, not to mention the Warsaw Pact countries.

And where the regimes are not outright Marxist-Leninist, the Soviets have achieved a remarkable penetration to obtain their aims. Examples include:

Soviet penetration of the Assad regime in Syria threatens Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Turkey, and Iraq.

Soviet penetration of the Khomeini regime in Iran is significant and threatens the Persian Gulf including Saudi Arabia and Kuwait; indeed, the Khomeini regime threatens the entire Muslim world.

Soviet penetration of India threatens Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the entire subcontinent and its submerged nations such as the Sikh, the Kashmiri, the Tamil, the Asamese, and the Bengali nations. The brutal occupation of ethnic Tamil lands in Sri Lanka by the Indian Army is costing thousands, the innocent lives of thousands of men, women, and children. Of course, the real objective of the Indian Army is the control of the strategic port of Trincomalee on behalf of their

Soviet masters. Trincomalee is the single most strategic port in the Indian Ocean.

Soviet projection of naval power into the South China Sea and into the Western Pacific from Vietnam threatens the free countries of the Pacific rim and the future of international commerce.

Soviet penetration of the Philippines threatens not only prospects for freedom in that country and for freedom in its neighbors such as Indonesia and Malaysia. Soviet penetration of the Philippines threatens the strategic position of the United States in the Pacific and therefore the ability of the United States to act as a force for peace and for progress in the Pacific Basin.

PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AGAINST THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Mr. President, who can deny that the American people and Congress have been subjected to an unprecedented campaign by the major American news media to portray Mr. Gorbachev as a benign reformer whose only desire is openness and restructuring in Soviet domestic affairs and normal relations with the United States? How often have we heard about glasnost and "perestroika?"

Why should we applaud a restructuring which is intended to make communism work? Why should we rejoice in a restructuring which is intended to build a better Gulag?

Mr. President, having heard the word glasnost so often on U.S. television and having read so much about it in the U.S. press, I asked my staff to look up the word in a Russian-English dictionary. The media tell us that the word means openness which leads us to believe that there is a relaxation of controls inside the Soviet Union and a new friendly attitude with the West.

The Library of Congress sent over to me a page from the Russian-English dictionary compiled by Prof. A.I. Smirnitsky and published in Moscow. The entry under "glas" gives a meaning of "voice." The entry under "glasnost" gives a meaning of "publicity." Several specialists on the Soviet Union, who are native Russian speakers, have told us that the current meaning is a bit stronger than just "publicity." These specialists say that "glasnost" in current usage means "propaganda."

Mr. President, this is a far cry from what the media would have us believe. But this distortion of the meaning of words, warfare in the field of semantics, is typical of the media diet that the American people are being fed hour after hour, day after day, page after page, broadcast after broadcast. This distortion of the meaning of words is typical of the ethical standards of American journalists working today. These journalists, intentional or not, are not reporting the facts about the news. They are, rather, engaged in polemics and propaganda in a

war on traditional American culture and values.

This campaign against the American people—against traditional American culture and values—is systematic psychological warfare. It is orchestrated by a vast array of interests comprising not only the Eastern establishment but also the radical left. Among this group we find the Department of State, the Department of Commerce, the money center banks and multinational corporations, the media, the educational establishment, the entertainment industry, and the large tax-exempt foundations.

Mr. President, a careful examination of what is happening behind the scenes reveals that all of these interests are working in concert with the masters of the Kremlin in order to create what some refer to as a new world order. Private organizations such as the Council on Foreign Relations, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Trilateral Commission, the Dartmouth Conference, the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, the Atlantic Institute, and the Bilderberg Group serve to disseminate and to coordinate the plans for this so-called new world order in powerful business, financial, academic, and official circles.

The current psychological campaign against the American people is promoting the beginning of a new attempt at détente which proceeds from an illusion of arms control. The INF summit is supposed to mark the initiation of a new phase in Soviet-American relations. This phase is intended ultimately to produce a convergence in the two systems.

THE EASTERN ESTABLISHMENT: GLOBALISM, DÉTENTE, AND PROFITS

The psychological campaign that I am describing, as I have said, is the work of groups within the Eastern establishment, that amorphous amalgam of wealth and social connections whose power resides in its control over our financial system and over a large portion of our industrial sector. The principal instrument of this control over the American economy and money is the Federal Reserve System. The policies of the industrial sectors, primarily the multinational corporations, are influenced by the money center banks through debt financing and through the large blocks of stock controlled by the trust departments of the money center banks.

Anyone familiar with American history, and particularly American economic history, cannot fail to notice the control over the Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency which Wall Street seems to exercise. The recent stock market crash, and the general expectation in the exchanges that stock prices should dictate policy, confirms this feeling. The

influence of establishment insiders over our foreign policy has become a fact of life in our time. This pervasive influence runs contrary to the real long-term national security of our Nation. It is an influence which, if unchecked, could ultimately subvert our constitutional order.

The viewpoint of the establishment today is called globalism. Not so long ago, this viewpoint was called the "one-world" view by its critics. The phrase is no longer fashionable among sophisticates; yet, the phrase "one-world" is still apt because nothing has changed in the minds and actions of those promoting policies consistent with its fundamental tenets.

Mr. President, in the globalist point of view, nation-states and national boundaries do not count for anything. Political philosophies and political principles seem to become simply relative. Indeed, even constitutions are irrelevant to the exercise of power. Liberty and tyranny are viewed as neither necessarily good nor evil, and certainly not a component of policy.

In this point of view, the activities of international financial and industrial forces should be oriented to bringing this one-world design—with a convergence of the Soviet and American systems as its centerpiece—into being.

The world view of the insiders' club is de facto atheistic and materialistic. All that matters to this club is the maximization of profits resulting from the practice of what can be described as finance capitalism, a system which rests upon the twin pillars of debt and monopoly. This isn't real capitalism. It is the road to economic concentration and to political slavery.

By real capitalism I mean free enterprise which is based upon productive capitalism. The free market, unencumbered by debt and complex concentrations of power, is the only road to abundance and political freedom. It is the only road to national prosperity and independence.

To the insiders' club, productive capitalism—real free enterprise—is as irrelevant as it is naive. It does not fit into their plans for the concentration and control of profit and political power.

Mr. President, it should not surprise us that members of this insiders club are falling all over themselves to put together all manner of joint ventures and business deals with the masters of the Kremlin who themselves have an atheistic and materialistic world view. The hidden design is the construction of a global political condominium by United States financiers and the Kremlin. Wall Street maximizes its profits and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union maintains its dictatorship.

In short, the purpose of the current détente offensive is twofold. First, it is a means to promote a broad array of

financial and commercial relations between American business and the Kremlin which will keep the Soviet empire afloat. Our money center banks and multinational corporations intend to expand their interests through literally thousands of projects and transactions blessed by the U.S. Department of State and by the U.S. Department of Commerce. Of course, this building of communism only serves to build the Soviet military-industrial complex and to maintain the Communist Party in power.

Second, and this is the most important aspect, we must consider whether or not this détente is a means to promote cultural change in the United States in order to so alter our traditional way of life that a convergence or merging of the American and Soviet systems can occur. The alteration of our traditional way of life can only proceed through a process in which the perception of threat posed by international communism is lowered to the point where the American people no longer resist the long-range program for collectivism here at home.

WHO IS GORBACHEV?

Mr. President, it is never easy to penetrate the interior of Soviet political life and this Senator makes no claim to special knowledge of Kremlin politics. We can, however, try to sketch out some aspects of Mr. Gorbachev's career. There can be no question that Mr. Gorbachev is a tough leader and a formidable opponent. His wife, who reportedly holds a doctoral degree in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, appears to be a calculating and determined part of his team.

From published sources we find that Gorbachev was born on March 2, 1931, in an area near Stavropol in the Cossack lands. His father was apparently a farmworker who supported Stalin's agricultural policy which targeted more prosperous farmers, called "kulaks," for mass destruction. Stalin undertook the destruction of the more prosperous peasants as a class in order to prevent their takeover of the local councils, or "Soviets." The prosperous farmers posed a mortal political danger to the Communist regime and to the dictatorship of the Communist Party. They were therefore destroyed for political reasons.

Stalin's mass murder of the kulaks swept across the Ukraine but was slowed when it encountered the stubborn resistance of the Cossacks who since ancient times fought fiercely to maintain their status as a free and independent nation within their lands. Serfdom never existed in the Cossack lands. Cossacks were freeholders who were productive farmers as well as formidable soldiers.

Gorbachev's family were reportedly members of the Communist Party. Accordingly, they welcomed Stalin's anti-kulak campaign which resulted in the

deaths of several million of their fellow Cossack men, women, and children. Some historians believe that more Cossacks died in Stalin's campaign against the kulaks than did Ukrainians. They put the figure of Cossack deaths at about 6 million arising from outright slaughter, starvation, disease, and forced removal.

If Mr. Gorbachev is so interested in openness why does he not restore democracy in his ancestral homeland? Between 1917 and 1921, Cossackia had its own constitution. Even Lenin gave Cossackia Republic status but this was taken away in May 1923. So why doesn't Mr. Gorbachev grant Republic status to the Cossack lands today? Surely this would be an indication of good faith and his commitment to openness and democracy.

Gorbachev, in his rise to power, has had a series of powerful patrons. These patrons can hardly be described as moderate and open. In fact, they represent some of the most dedicated and hardline ideological elements with the closest links to the KGB. Gorbachev joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1952. He studied at Moscow University from which he graduated in 1955 with a degree in law, Soviet law that is. He became active in the Communist Party youth organization, the Komsomol. At this stage in his career, specialists point out that his key patrons were Suslov, whose political base was in Stavropol, and Shelepin, who was the head of the Communist Komsomol youth organization.

After graduation from Moscow University, Gorbachev returned to Stavropol and became an activist in the local and regional Communist Party apparatus. He specialized in agriculture, which is an area for those who are prudent and wish to bide their time by avoiding political conflict in more high visibility issue areas. Kulakov became his patron.

By staying in the provinces and building his political base carefully, Gorbachev finally was able to return to the center, Moscow, in 1971. In this year he became a full member of the powerful Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev rose to a position as Secretary for Agriculture on the Central Committee. During 1979 and 1980, he was elevated to candidate status on the Politburo. Then, in 1980 he was made a full member of the Politburo.

Specialists point out that Gorbachev during 1981 and 1982 was in charge of the administrative organs department of the Communist Party Secretariat. This is the department which is in charge of the administrative organs department of the Communist Party Secretariat. This is the department which is in charge of the KGB, the GRU, and other Soviet security services. It is an extremely powerful posi-

tion and indicates that Andropov—the KGB head who became Secretary General—may very well have been Gorbachev's most powerful and important patron. That Gorbachev held his position which is so critical to the maintenance of the dictatorship of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union indicates the close alliance that he has with the state security services such as the KGB.

Those who promote a moderate reformist image of Gorbachev, for whatever reasons, ignore his own programmatic statements before the most important official bodies in the Soviet Union. This November 2 in a major address Gorbachev reaffirmed his commitment to orthodox Leninism. Of particular interest was his emphasizing the importance of dialectical logic and thought as a weapon of revolution. Dialectical logic is at the heart of Communist thought processes and is completely different from the traditional logic and thought processes of the West. What Gorbachev was underscoring is that he is committed to the Communist revolution and its way of thinking. In so doing, he reassured his comrades that there would never be a meeting of the minds with the free world.

CONSEQUENCES OF AN INF TREATY

Mr. President, as I said at the outset of my remarks, the central question is whether or not the INF Treaty spells the end of the NATO alliance in practical terms. The INF Treaty, therefore, may accelerate the unravelling of the fabric of free world security. The INF Treaty could accelerate the disintegration of hemispheric unity as outlined in the Monroe Doctrine and as embodied in the Rio Treaty. Senators will recall that on September 17 of this year the Senate reaffirmed the Monroe Doctrine by a vote of 90 to 2.

There are profound and inescapable geopolitical consequences to the INF Treaty which we, in our haste to support it may fail to consider. The failure to consider the long-range consequences of the INF Treaty will negatively affect the long-term security of the United States.

Mr. President, some have said that those who oppose the INF Treaty believe that war is inevitable. Nothing could be further from the truth. Nothing could be less informed. The INF Treaty by eliminating the Pershing missile from the NATO inventory—by eliminating our best deterrent system—reduces stability and creates conditions for war.

Can it be denied that the central deterrent weapons system in NATO is the Pershing missile? Given the overwhelming Soviet superiority in conventional weapons, is not the Pershing essential to deterrence? Is there any substitute?

Is not the Pershing missile the only system which poses a fundamental

challenge to the key military targets deep within Soviet territory?

The Pershing missile is a highly capable and prompt system which can reach its targets in just a few minutes.

We know that the Pershing missile by placing critical Soviet targets at risk gives the essential dimension to deterrence in Europe.

The Pershing missile by providing credible deterrence is a fundamental resource in keeping the peace.

Mr. President, should the Pershing missile be removed from Europe, should this the central deterrent system of the NATO alliance be removed from Europe, then the NATO alliance would exist in name only. At this point, we might as well bring all of our troops home and call it a day because NATO will cease to be a credible deterrent to Soviet aggression. Our troops and their families will be in the position of hostages in the event of hostilities.

Mr. President, under these circumstances, it is unethical and immoral for the United States to maintain our troops in Western Europe.

With Pershing missiles removed from West German territory, the danger is that West Germany could be de facto Finlandized. Moscow is holding out the powerful incentive of German reunification on the condition that West Germany gets out of NATO and becomes neutral.

The carrot is the profits to be derived from dramatically expanded commercial relations with the Soviet bloc. Austria is a model. This Soviet proposal has a powerful appeal to politically influential German financial and industrial groups who were the driving force behind Willi Brandt's Ost-Politik opening to the Soviet bloc in the 1960's.

In fact, these business interests for almost a century have been associated with pan-German political, financial, and strategic designs which have consistently aimed at the expansion of German influence in eastern Europe and Russia. These interests brought kaiserism, nazism, and communism to the world stage. The world has yet to recover from the devastation unleashed by these forces during this century, the bloodiest century in human history.

Is it any wonder then that respected French military figures such as General Gallois have spoken out so sharply in recent days. They recognize the dangers of the INF agreement and its consequences in Europe. They recognize the threat to France posed by the Warsaw Pact with or without West Germany as part of a Western alliance structure.

Mr. President, with Western Europe out of the NATO alliance and neutralized militarily it is but a small step for the rise of Western Europe as a so-called "Third Force" between East and

West. This is the so-called "Pan-European" concept which involves the transformation of Western Europe into a superstate after destroying the national sovereignty and traditional culture of each of the constituent states. Certain financial and industrial interests hope to profit from this program which, of course, involves a diminution of U.S. world economic and political influence.

In this design, Western Europe would supposedly balance off the Soviet Union and the United States. As part of the design, these circles intend to increase their economic relations with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in a grand maneuver to keep America at bay via Soviet power.

On the cultural front, we should expect an intensified transformation in the area of Western culture and values in Europe and in the United States in the wake of the Gorbachev summit and the INF Treaty. Politics flows from culture. Western Europe has lost its identity and mission as a bastion of Western civilization. As a result, politics based upon traditional values has given way to politics based upon Marxism in its many forms.

Western Europe has almost become a wasteland from the standpoint of the traditional culture and values which flow from the historical experience of the nations of the old world as well as from the standpoint of our common Judeo-Christian heritage.

Western Europe is daily being transformed by the sophisticated techniques of cultural subversion devised by Antonio Gramsci, a founder of the Italian Communist Party. Pornography, drugs, secularism, and immorality have been on the rise for decades leaving the countries of Western Europe sapped of their strength, their dignity, and their sense of purpose.

In Western Europe, the breakdown of traditional culture and values has facilitated the penetration of Marxism in its many forms. Marxism, Marxist-Leninism, and British-inspired Fabian socialism—the slow boat to communism—have deeply penetrated the psyche of European intellectual, political, and business circles. This cultural disintegration facilitates the designs of those who aim at political power through a socialist Western European superstate.

THE DESTRUCTION OF HEMISPHERIC UNITY

Mr. President, when the United States unnecessarily and unwisely tilted to the British side during the Malvinas war in 1982, I warned that this would polarize the hemisphere and alienate our traditional friends and neighbors South of the border. Anti-American forces were, indeed, unleashed throughout Latin America which have contributed to the rise of violently anti-American leftist regimes.

A calm analysis will show that the State Department and the CIA have bent every effort to install leftist regimes throughout the hemisphere. For them, socialism is the wave of the future. As a result, the unity of our hemisphere is threatened by the expansion of extra-continental ideologies based upon Marxist and Marxist-Leninist concepts.

While it is fashionable in Washington to talk about the spread of democracy in Latin America nothing could be further from the mark. What we really confront in Latin America is the spread of Marxism in a variety of guises ranging from so-called social democracy to outright Marxist-Leninism.

As a result of the spread of socialism, the economic picture in Latin America is more bleak than at any point in the last three decades. State debt is mounting and the productive base is disintegrating. It will not be that much longer before South America resembles the tropical wreckage of Central America.

Mr. President, it is no secret that the international bankers profiteer from sovereign state debt. The New York banks have found important profit centers in the lending to countries plunged into debt by Socialist regimes. Under Socialist regimes, countries go deeper and deeper into debt because socialism as an economic system does not work. International bankers are sophisticated enough to understand this phenomenon and they are sophisticated enough to profit from it.

Because the public debt is sovereign debt, the bankers have calculated that they will always be able to collect. If there is too much risk in the private debt side, it is a simple matter to get Socialist governments to nationalize banks, industrial enterprises, and agricultural holdings. In this way, private debt is converted to sovereign state debt which the bankers have believed will always be collectable.

The New York banks find the profit from the interest on this sovereign debt to be critical to their balance sheets. Up until very recently, this has been an essentially riskless game for the banks because the IMF and the World Bank have stood ready to bail the banks out with our taxpayers' money. In today's conditions, however, the debt problem has arrived at almost unmanageable proportions. Undoubtedly, the American taxpayer one way or another will be required to bail the banks out.

Instability and economic disintegration in Latin America is not in the long-term interest of the United States. To the contrary, economic development in Latin America based upon productive investment and fair trade with the United States is a fundamental interest because it contributes to the general peace and prosperity of this hemisphere, the New World.

The Communist world, however, does not want to see economic progress in Latin America. This is one of the major underlying factors behind Communist aggression in this hemisphere.

This is why the Kremlin has been bending every effort to destabilize Chile. Chile, by engaging in productive capitalism, has registered the most significant economic progress in Latin America. The Soviet Union does not want Chile to become a model for economic development in Latin America and in other developing areas.

Of course, the Soviets also want to expand their empire geographically. They want to drain Third World countries of their mineral, agricultural, and fisheries production. In the post-Malvinas situation in South America we find massive Soviet fishing fleets devouring the sea's bounties off Argentine, Chilean, and Peruvian territorial waters.

In fact, Argentina has negotiated a major and nationally disadvantageous fishing agreement with the Soviet Union as has Peru. Soviet Aeroflot aircraft regularly fly in and out of Argentina and Peru servicing the vast fishing fleets plying South Atlantic and South Pacific waters. These vast fleets composed of hundreds of ships and tens of thousands of fishermen are under the direct command of the Soviet Navy. Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, is a known adjunct of the Soviet military intelligence organization, the GRU.

Mr. President there is a design afoot in Latin America to isolate the United States diplomatically and politically within the hemisphere. The meeting of eight countries in Acapulco over our Thanksgiving holiday was a major advance of this design. In statements released by the conference the attendees recommended the admission of Cuba to the Organization of American States. Informed sources in Latin America have told me that the key actors behind this scheme are the Foreign Ministers of Argentina and Uruguay. The Foreign Minister of Argentina is reported to be deeply influenced by French radical and Communist circles including Regis Debray. The Foreign Minister of Uruguay is said to be courting Soviet support for a prominent job in an international organization such as the United Nations.

At the covert level, the Communist Parties of Argentina and Uruguay are reportedly active in the design to undermine the United States that I have described. The current head of the Argentina Communist Party is known as an expert in revolutionary guerrilla warfare. The deputy head of the Uruguayan Communist Party was born in Italy and is a specialist in the subversive strategies of Antonio Gramsci who, as I pointed out earlier, was a founder of the Communist Party of

Italy and the principal theoretician of strategies for cultural subversion.

The Communist Party of Uruguay and the Communist Party of Argentina, undoubtedly, were delighted by the recent and unprecedented visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister to Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. The purpose of this visit was to prepare the way for an official state visit of General Secretary Gorbachev in 1988 to these countries. It is certainly clear that the Soviets are moving to consolidate and expand the gains in this hemisphere that the Communist seizure of Cuba and Nicaragua have conferred on them.

HEMISPHERIC DISINTEGRATION

Mr. President, the dynamics of the situation south of the Rio Grande are not in the long-range interest of the United States. Our hemisphere is in deep trouble. We have the rise of Marxism and Marxist-Leninism. We have the virulent activities of those in the Catholic Church and in Protestant denominations who are promoting the so-called "theology of liberation."

The theology of liberation is neither theology nor liberation. It is Marxist-Leninism with a thin veneer of Biblical phraseology. It is grounded in Marxist methodology and dialectical thought. The promoters of this ideology are destroying the foundations of Christianity in the hemisphere. The promoters of this ideology are working hand in glove with the Soviet-sponsored guerrilla and terrorist movements which are spreading death and devastation throughout the New World.

Mexico is in a process of disintegration and radicalization. As a result, Mexico has flooded our country with over 10 million illegal aliens by some estimates. The border patrol has been arresting some 100,000 illegal aliens per month at our Southern border for several years running.

Central America is crumbling under the rule of Socialist and Marxist-Leninist regimes. Communist terrorism is rampant in Central America. The long-term viability of the Panama Canal is threatened.

Colombia is in the hands of the narcotics traffickers.

Brazil is disintegrating rapidly without a firm hand at the helm. In Brazil, crime is rampant in urban areas and the countryside is becoming radicalized through the efforts of the clergy which promotes the Communist theology of liberation.

Argentina has become radically Marxist under the anti-American Alfonsín regime.

Peru is in chaos produced by its Socialist regime and by the bloody terrorism of the Shining Path guerrillas.

For the moment, Ecuador and Paraguay are holding their own.

Chile has been on the difficult road to recovery from the chaos and economic devastation produced by the Communist Allende regime. It appears that Chile will be successful in making a transition to representative government under a constitution approved by the Chilean people in a national plebiscite. We should never forget that it is Chile which stands watch over the sea lanes around Cape Horn through the Drake Passage.

To our north, we find our Canadian neighbors being subjected to a massive attempt to shift their political system to the far left. The so-called New Democratic Party in Canada is neither new nor democratic. The New Democratic Party is simply Marxist and alien to Canada's historical roots and culture. It is a cause for some concern that this destructive political party is gaining ground in Canada. It is sad to look northward upon a country which has, as does our own country, such outstanding political figures as Algonquin Sidney, John Hampden, and John Locke in the English part of its heritage throwing away common sense for Karl Marx.

Mr. President, the cultural, economic, and social trends in the New World, in our hemisphere, are cause for deep concern. This is our homeground. This is our neighborhood. We cannot maintain our way of life and constitutional order over the long term with Latin America in chaos. The State Department and the CIA are handing Latin America over to socialism and communism. The Kremlin is, no doubt, overcome with joy by the naivete of our diplomatic and intelligence services. Our Latin friends and neighbors certainly deserve a better fate.

SOVIET BLOC TRADE AND THE DESTRUCTION OF LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIES

Mr. President, as I pointed out on October 13 of this year when discussing the nomination of C. William Verity to the Office of Secretary of Commerce, any expansion of financial and commercial relations with the Soviet Union will be at the expense of our neighbors in Latin America. It is no secret that economic relations have been a part of the Gorbachev summit. It is no secret that numerous leading businessmen affiliated with the United States-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council have met with Mr. Gorbachev and his entourage.

The transfer of goods and technology to the Soviet Union directly and indirectly contributes to Soviet military capabilities. The installation of turn-key projects and joint ventures for manufacturing and other purposes deprives American workers of jobs and impairs our own export markets in third countries for downstream goods which these manufacturing facilities produce.

The expansion of commercial relations with the Soviet Union will inevi-

tably impair economic development in Latin America. Instead of factories and other projects being built in this hemisphere, we will see joint ventures between American firms and the Soviet Government and between American firms and other Soviet bloc countries. Latin America, in effect, will become decapitalized and will experience ever greater problems in being able to meet debt payments not to mention being able to provide job creation.

As the United States abandons Latin America, the Soviet Union and its satellites will be moving in. I have already pointed out the unprecedented trip by the Soviet Foreign Minister which is preparing the way for a state visit by General Secretary Gorbachev to Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina next year. As the Soviet Union moves further into this hemisphere, our unity will be dismantled and our traditional culture and values will be destroyed.

Mr. President, as a result of this summit, in years to come we may well find ourselves isolated and without allies in a world dominated by the Soviet empire. I sincerely hope that this is not the case but we cannot rule out this possibility. NATO could pass into insignificance. The Rio Treaty could pass into insignificance. The moral, political, diplomatic, economic, and military strength of the United States could become dangerously eroded. Under such conditions, our freedom would be at risk, our standard of living would be lowered, our internal situation would be polarized and unstable, and our national security would be jeopardized.

Mr. President, it is time that our Nation has a foreign policy suited to protecting our vital national interests around the globe. It is time that our Nation has a foreign policy designed to strengthen our relations with friends and allies. It is time that our Nation has a foreign policy which will serve to protect the American people, our way of life, and our constitutional order from the perils of Soviet global expansion and other less visible threats.

TRIBUTE TO THE NORTH HILLS HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL TEAM

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, the Duke of Wellington, in commenting on the final conflict which ended Napoleon's dreams of empire, said that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton. His point was, of course, that the virtues young Englishmen learned in competitive sports—hard work, commitment, courage and loyalty—stood them in good stead when they were forced with life's more difficult problems.

The athletes of North Hills High School's football team in the suburban Pittsburgh, PA, area have vigorously

displayed these virtues in recently completing a fantastic season. In going 13-0 and in winning the WPIAL class 4-A championship, the Indians have convincingly earned the mythical national championship and the No. 1 ranking of USA Today—designation as the best high school football team in the country.

Over the past 3 years, North Hills has won 37 games, lost one and tied one. Its loss was in last year's WPIAL championship game by a single point, 7-6; its one tie was a hard fought, scoreless deadlock in 1985. This is an extraordinary record and a tribute to Coach Jack McCurry and his dedicated athletes.

The late Vince Lombardi, coach of the Green Bay Packers, was subject to some criticism because of his seemingly ruthless insistence on winning. But, as Lombardi himself protested, he was misunderstood. His insistence was not winning at any cost, but on working as hard as possible to win, that is, on pursuing excellence.

Nothing in life that is worthwhile comes easily. It is invariably the result of hard work and, in team sports, on a selfless commitment to team excellence. North Hills High School's football team has demonstrated this concept admirably with its all-winning season.

It is, therefore, fitting that the U.S. Senate take note of this achievement and extend its congratulations and best wishes to the North Hills Indians on their truly remarkable championship season.

MISSISSIPPIAN NEW CHAIRMAN OF NATIONAL KIDNEY FOUNDATION

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, another Mississippian has been honored with a leadership position at the national level.

Bill Hunter of Jackson, MI, is now chairman of the National Kidney Foundation. I congratulate him on this honor and his new responsibility.

He is a certified public accountant and is a partner with Peat, Marwick, Main & Co. in Jackson, and has been active in his profession as well as providing leadership and dedicated service to his community, State and Nation in such organizations as the Kidney Foundation.

I know Bill Hunter will provide very fine guidance, service and strong leadership to the Kidney Foundation as it seeks to combat kidney disease.

I commend Bill Hunter and wish him well during his tenure as chairman of the National Kidney Foundation.

MISSISSIPPI HOUSE SPEAKER RETIRES AFTER 40 YEARS LEGISLATIVE SERVICE

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity to commend a good friend who is retiring after 40 years of legislative service to the people of his district and the entire State of Mississippi, including the past 11 years as speaker of the house of representatives.

C.B. (Buddie) Newman of Valley Park in Issaquena County has been one of the most dedicated, hard working legislators in our State's history. During his service in the legislature, he has helped provide the leadership to steer many major legislative programs to passage, and, as chairman of the ways and means committee and later as speaker, has taken the lead in raising the revenue necessary to fund programs in education, highways, health care, and economic development, as well as other programs and institutions vital to the well-being of the people of our State.

A farmer himself, Buddie Newman has been a strong spokesman for the farmers of our State, and has been supportive of our efforts here to secure sound farm legislation and policies beneficial to the farmers of Mississippi.

In addition to his duties as speaker since 1976, Buddie has also been active in a wide range of professional and community service organizations. He is a past chairman of the Southern Legislative Conference of the Council of State Governments and the Southern States Speakers Conference. He is also an active member of a number of economic development, flood control, agriculture, and veterans organizations.

There is a ceremony scheduled tonight at the State capitol in Jackson to pay tribute to Buddie Newman as he prepares to retire and leave office. A portrait of the speaker will be unveiled at this ceremony, and a dinner will be held in his honor.

Although we have a new generation of State and legislative leaders poised to take office and assume leadership positions next month, I feel certain that Buddie Newman's experience and knowledge of the legislature and State government, and his keen awareness of the needs of our people, will be missed by his friends and colleagues.

I wish Buddie and his wife Betty the very best in the years ahead.

CURTIS BOWLING, LEGISLATIVE FELLOW

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, this year I have been extremely fortunate to have benefited from the abilities of Mr. Curtis Bowling, a supervisor at headquarters, Department of the Air Force, who as a LEGIS Fellow, served as a member of my staff.

Mr. Bowling's performance over the course of the past year, a period of unusual, extensive, and demanding legislative deliberations, was thoroughly outstanding. Because of his exemplary efforts, I wanted to take a few moments to commend him and express my appreciation for his service and dedication.

Curtis brought a depth of experience and insight from the Department of Defense and the Air Force in his assignment as a fellow. His perspectives on all aspects of defense policy, particularly environmental, contracting, and acquisition issues, were especially noteworthy. With this grounding, he made an immediate and valuable contribution to the operations of my office.

Possessing a high degree of intellectual maturity combined with sound judgement, he quickly became an integral part of my staff. He consistently provided exceptionally competent advice and counsel on a wide range of complex and demanding issues. Of particular note was an innate capability to go to the heart of a matter and ferret out the salient factors. This not only made for more efficient staff work, but also resulted in far more effective problem resolution.

These attributes coupled with a tenacious approach and a sincere concern with respect to difficult situations to further enhance problem resolution. Curtis routinely made the complex understandable, while placing matters in the proper perspective. In at least three different instances, this tenacity and proficiency resulted in the reversal of what had been a major decision on the part of the Pentagon. In each case, Curtis brought to light details that either had not been considered, or certainly had not been considered adequately.

At the same time, he demonstrated a superb capacity to interface with all agencies of the Government as well as entities throughout the Commonwealth of Virginia. Again, he manifested a genuine concern in every matter large and small, and came to be respected by all with whom he dealt. Comments from every quarter were without exception, highly complimentary.

Curtis is extremely well liked and thoroughly respected by all members of my staff. He will be missed by all as he moves on to new responsibilities. His contributions and achievements are indicative not only of outstanding capabilities, but also an authentic devotion to our Nation. These attributes along with those mentioned earlier, have made him a most valuable member of my staff during his stay with us. The workload and hours during this stay were extraordinary. I am grateful not only to him, but to his wife and family as well for their un-

derstanding and support during this year's turbulent legislative session.

As Curtis moves on to other duties, I would like to once again express my sincere appreciation to him for his outstanding service and support, and wish him the very best in all his future endeavors.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I inquire of the distinguished acting Republican leader, Mr. HELMS, if two nominations on page 2 of the Executive Calendar, under "United Nations," have been cleared on his side of the aisle.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I say to my good friend that they have been cleared.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider the two aforementioned nominations, *seriatim*.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nominations.

UNITED NATIONS

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Pearl Bailey, of Arizona, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the Forty-second Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the nomination was confirmed.

Mr. HELMS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Mark D. Siljander of Michigan, to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the Forty-second Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the nomination was confirmed.

Mr. HELMS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to the consideration of legislative business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT ON COMMITTEE FUNDING RESOLUTIONS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate considers Calendar Order No. 451, Senate Resolution 304, supplemental funding for the Agriculture Committee there be 90 minutes of debate to be equally divided and controlled in the usual form; provided, that there be no amendments in order to the resolution, and that following the conclusion or yielding back of time, the Senate proceed to vote on the adoption of the resolution without any intervening action; provided further, that there be 10 minutes of debate on any debatable motion or appeal, to be equally divided in accordance with the usual form; provided that following the disposition of Senate Resolution 304, the Senate proceed to the consideration of the following committee funding resolutions en bloc:

Calendar Order No. 444, S. Res. 306—Armed Services Committee; Calendar Order No. 445, S. Res. 311—Finance Committee; Calendar Order No. 446, S. Res. 319—Veterans' Affairs Committee; Calendar Order No. 447, S. Res. 321—Indian Affairs Committee; Calendar Order No. 448, S. Res. 322—Appropriations Committee; and Calendar Order No. 449, S. Res. 325—Rules Committee, and that action on each of these resolutions appear separately in the RECORD; and that one motion to reconsider and lay on the table be in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIBRARY CONFERENCE ON LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar Order No. 309, Senate Joint Resolution 26.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be stated by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 26) to authorize and request the President to call a White

House Conference on Library and Information Services to be held not later than 1989, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, with an amendment to strike all after the resolving clause and insert new language.

S.J. Res. 26

Whereas access to information and ideas is indispensable to the development of human potential, the advancement of civilization, and the continuance of enlightened self-government;

Whereas the preservation and the dissemination of information and ideas are the primary purpose and function of the library and information services;

Whereas the economic vitality of the United States in a global economy and the productivity of the work force of the Nation rest on access to information in the postindustrial information age;

Whereas the White House Conference on Library and Information Services of 1979 began a process in which a broadly representative group of citizens made recommendations that have improved the library and information services of the Nation, and sparked the Nation's interest in the crucial role of library and information services at home and abroad;

Whereas library and information service is essential to a learning society;

Whereas social, demographic, and economic shifts of the past decade have intensified the rate of change and require that Americans of all age groups develop and sustain literacy and other lifelong learning habits;

Whereas expanding technological developments offer unprecedented opportunities for application to teaching and learning and to new means to provide access to library and information services;

Whereas the growth and augmentation of the Nation's library and information services are essential if all Americans, without regard to race, ethnic background, or geographic location are to have reasonable access to adequate information and lifelong learning;

Whereas the future of our society depends on developing the learning potential inherent in all children and youth, especially literary, reading, research, and retrieval skills;

Whereas rapidly developing technology offer a potential for enabling libraries and information services to serve the public more fully; and

Whereas emerging satellite communication networks and other technologies offer unparalleled opportunity for access to education opportunities to all parts of the world, and to individuals who are homebound, handicapped, or incarcerated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

PRESIDENT TO CALL CONFERENCE IN 1989

SECTION 1. The President is authorized to call and conduct a White House Conference on Library and Information Services to be held not earlier than September 1, 1989, and not later than September 30, 1991.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CONFERENCE

SEC. 2. (a) PURPOSE.—The purpose of the White House Conference on Library and Information Services shall be to develop recommendations for the further improvement of the library and information services of the Nation and their use by the public, in accordance with the findings set forth in the preamble to this joint resolution.

(b) COMPOSITION.—The Conference shall be composed of—

(1) representatives of professional library and information personnel and individuals who support or furnish volunteer services to libraries and information services centers, from all age groups and walks of life, and members of the general public;

(2) representatives of local, statewide, regional, and national institutions, agencies, organizations, and associations which provide library and information services to the public;

(3) representatives of educational institutions, agencies, organizations, and associations (including professional and scholarly associations for the advancement of education and research);

(4) individuals with special knowledge of, and special competence in, technology as it may be used for the improvement of library and information services; and

(5) representatives of Federal, State, and local governments.

(c) DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS.—In carrying out subsection (a)—

(1) one-fourth of the participants shall be selected from the library and information profession,

(2) one-fourth of the participants shall be selected from among individuals who are currently active library and information supporters, including trustees and friends groups,

(3) one-fourth shall be selected from among individuals who are Federal, State, or local government officials, and

(4) one-fourth shall be selected from the general public.

(d) STATE PARTICIPATION OPTIONAL.—(1) State and territorial delegates and alternates to the national conference may participate in a respective State or territorial conference.

(2) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to require any State to participate in a State or territorial conference.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

SEC. 3. (a) DIRECTION BY COMMISSION.—The Conference shall be planned and conducted under the direction of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science.

(b) COMMISSION FUNCTIONS.—In carrying out this joint resolution, the Commission shall—

(1) when appropriate, request the cooperation and assistance of other Federal departments and agencies in order to carry out its responsibilities;

(2) make technical and financial assistance (by grant, contract, or otherwise) available to the States to enable them to organize and conduct conferences and other meetings in order to prepare for the Conference;

(3) prepare and make available background materials for the use of delegates to the Conference and associated State conferences, and prepare and distribute such reports of the Conference and associated State conferences as may be appropriate; and

(4) conduct fiscal oversight activities with respect to the preparation for and the con-

vening of the Conference including contracting for the services of an audit firm.

(c) **FEDERAL AGENCY COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE.**—(1) Each Federal department and agency, including the national libraries, shall cooperate with, and provide assistance to the Commission upon its request under clause (1) of subsection (b). For that purpose, each Federal department and agency is authorized and encouraged to provide personnel to the Commission.

(2) The Librarian of Congress, the Director of the National Library of Medicine, and the Director of the National Agricultural Library are authorized to detail personnel to the Commission, upon request, to enable the Commission to carry out its functions under this joint resolution.

(d) **PERSONNEL.**—In carrying out the provisions of this joint resolution, the Commission is authorized to engage such personnel as may be necessary to assist the Commission and the Advisory Committee, without regard for the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to chapter 51, and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

(e) **EXPENSES.**—Members of the Conference may, while away from their homes or regular places of business and attending the Conference, be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as may be allowed under section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, for persons serving without pay. Such expenses may be paid by way of advances, reimbursement, or in installments as the Commission may determine.

REPORTS

SEC. 4. (a) SUBMISSION TO PRESIDENT; TRANSMITTAL TO CONGRESS.—A final report of the Conference, containing such findings and recommendations as may be made by the Conference, shall be submitted to the President not later than 120 days following the close of the Conference. The final report shall be made public and, within 90 days after its receipt by the President, transmitted to the Congress together with a statement of the President containing the recommendations of the President with respect to such report.

(b) **PUBLICATION AND DISTRIBUTION.**—The Commission is authorized to publish and distribute for the Conference the reports authorized under this joint resolution. Copies of all such reports shall be provided to the depository libraries.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

SEC. 5. (a) COMPOSITION.—There is established an advisory committee of the Conference composed of—

(1) eight individuals designated by the Chairman of the Commission;

(2) five individuals designated by the Speaker of the House of Representatives with not more than three being Members of the House of Representatives;

(3) five individuals designated by the President pro tempore of the Senate with not more than three being Members of the Senate;

(4) ten individuals appointed by the President;

(5) the Secretary of Education; and

(6) the Librarian of Congress.

The President, the President pro tempore of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Chairman of the Commission shall, after consultation, assure that members of the Advisory Committee are

broadly representative of all areas of the United States.

(b) **FUNCTION.**—The advisory committee shall assist and advise the Commission in planning and conducting the Conference.

(c) **ADMINISTRATION.**—(1) The Chairman of the Commission shall serve as Vice Chairman of the Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee shall elect the Chair of the Advisory Committee from among its members, who are not full-time Federal employees. The Advisory Committee shall select the Chair of the Conference.

(2) The Chairman of the Advisory Committee is authorized to establish, prescribe functions for, and appoint members to, such advisory and technical committees and staff as may be necessary to assist and advise the Conference in carrying out its functions.

(d) **COMPENSATION.**—Members of any committee established under this section who are not regular full-time officers or employees of the United States shall, while attending to the business of the Conference, be entitled to receive compensation therefor at a rate fixed by the President but not exceeding the rate of pay specified at the time of such service for grade GS-18 in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, including travel-time. Such members, may, while away from their homes or regular places of business, be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as may be authorized under section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

GIFTS AND TITLE TO CERTAIN PROPERTY

SEC. 6. (a) GIFTS.—The Commission shall have authority to accept, on behalf of the Conference, in the name of the United States, grants, gifts, or bequests of money for immediate disbursement by the Commission in furtherance of the Conference. Such grants, gifts, or bequests offered the Commission, shall be paid by the donor or his representative into the Treasury of the United States, whose receipts shall enter such grants, gifts, and bequests in a special account to the credit of the Commission for the purposes of this joint resolution.

(b) **REVERSION OF CERTAIN EQUIPMENT AND MATERIAL.**—Materials and equipment acquired by the White House Conference shall revert to the National Conference on Libraries and Information Science after the close of the White House Conference.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 7. For the purpose of this joint resolution—

(1) the term "Commission" means the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science;

(2) the term "Conference" means White House Conference on Library and Information Services; and

(3) the term "State" includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and American Indian Tribes.

AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS; LIMITATIONS

SEC. 8. (a) IN GENERAL.—There are authorized to be appropriated without fiscal year limitations \$5,000,000 to carry out this joint resolution. Such sum shall remain available for obligation until expended.

(b) **LIMITATION.**—Of the funds appropriated under the Library Services and Construction Act, only the funds appropriated for title III of that Act may be used to carry out the activities authorized by this resolution.

AMENDMENT NO. 1360

(Purpose: To add provisions relating to the Constitution bicentennial education program, the income contingent direct loan demonstration project, and certain resource authorizations, and for other purposes)

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of Senators PELL and STAFFORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], on behalf of Mr. PELL and Mr. STAFFORD, proposes an amendment numbered 1360.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 11, between lines 8 and 9, insert the following:

TITLE I—WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES

On page 11, line 10, strike out "SECTION 1." and insert in lieu thereof "SEC. 101."

On page 11, line 15, strike out "SEC. 2." and insert in lieu thereof "SEC. 102."

On page 13, line 13, strike out "SEC. 3." and insert in lieu thereof "SEC. 103."

On page 15, line 14, strike out "SEC. 4." and insert in lieu thereof "SEC. 104."

On page 16, line 4, strike out "SEC. 5." and insert in lieu thereof "SEC. 105."

On page 17, line 24, strike out "SEC. 6." and insert in lieu thereof "SEC. 106."

On page 18, line 10, strike out "Conference" the second time it appears and insert in lieu thereof "Commission".

On page 18, line 14, strike out "SEC. 7." and insert in lieu thereof "SEC. 107."

On page 18, line 25, strike out "SEC. 8." and insert in lieu thereof "SEC. 108."

On page 19, after line 6, insert the following:

TITLE II—CONSTITUTIONAL BICENTENNIAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

TEACHER TRAINING AMENDMENT

SEC. 201. Section 501(c)(1) of the Arts, Humanities, and Museums Amendments of 1985 is amended—

(1) by striking out "\$5,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1987 and 1988," and inserting in lieu thereof "\$8,000,000 for each of the fiscal years"; and

(2) by inserting before the period at the end thereof a comma and the following: "of which at least \$3,000,000 in each fiscal year shall be reserved for elementary and secondary teacher training and retraining programs in history, geography, and other related disciplines in the social sciences and humanities designed to enhance understanding of the Constitution."

TITLE III—HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

INCOME CONTINGENT DIRECT LOAN DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

SEC. 301. (a) NEW AGREEMENTS AND CONSORTIA.—Section 452(c)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) by inserting "(A)" after the paragraph designation; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(B) The Secretary may, in any fiscal year beginning after September 30, 1988, in which the appropriation to carry out the provisions of this part exceeds \$5,000,000, enter into agreements with an additional 10 institutions of higher education. Any agreement entered into under this subparagraph may include consortia of such institutions if the participating institutions of higher education are located in the same State."

(b) **INSTITUTIONAL PAYMENT OF IN-SCHOOL INTEREST.**—Section 453(5) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) by striking out "and" at the end of subparagraph (B);

(2) by adding "and" at the end of subparagraph (C); and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new subparagraph:

"(D) at the option of the institution, payment, from the institution's capital contribution described in paragraph (3), to cover the interest that accrues on loans made by such institution to students, during the period such students are attending the institution on at least a half-time basis;"

(c) **GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENT ELIGIBILITY.**—(1) Section 454(a)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by striking out "\$17,500" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$17,500 in the case of an undergraduate student (as defined in accordance with the regulations of the Secretary), and \$44,500 in the case of a graduate or professional student (as defined in accordance with the regulations of the Secretary and including any loans from such funds made to such student before the student became a graduate or professional student)".

(2) Section 454(a)(3) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(A) by striking out "and" at the end of subparagraph (B);

(B) by striking out the period at the end of subparagraph (C) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and "and"; and

(C) by adding at the end thereof the following new subparagraph:

"(D) \$10,000 in the case of a graduate or professional student, as defined in accordance with the regulations of the Secretary."

(d) **INTEREST RATE.**—(1) Section 454(a)(4)(A) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended to read as follows:

"(A) The interest rate on loans under this part shall be computed in accordance with subparagraph (B), based on the interest rate computed for the calendar year in which the loan was made, and fixed over the life of the loan."

(2) Section 454(a)(4)(B)(ii) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by striking out "3 percent" and inserting in lieu thereof "one-half of 1 percent".

(e) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall be effective for loans made to cover periods of instruction beginning on or after July 1, 1988.

INFORMATION ON DEFAULTS REQUIRED

SEC. 302. (a) **GENERAL RULE.**—The first sentence of section 428(k)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) by striking out "In" and inserting in lieu thereof "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in"; and

(2) by striking out "may" and inserting in lieu thereof "shall".

(b) **CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—The second sentence of section 428(k)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out "may" and inserting in lieu thereof "shall".

TECHNICAL AMENDMENT CONCERNING TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAM ELIGIBILITY FOR GSL PROGRAM

SEC. 303. Section 484 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(1), by striking out "subsection (b)(2)" and inserting in lieu thereof "subsections (b)(2) and (b)(3)"; and

(2) by adding at the end of subsection (b) the following new paragraph:

"(3) A student who—
"(A) is carrying at least one-half the normal full-time work load for the course of study the student is pursuing, as determined by the institution, and

"(B) is enrolled or accepted for enrollment in a program at an eligible institution leading to a professional credential or certification from a State that is required for employment as a teacher in an elementary or secondary school in that State,

shall be, notwithstanding paragraph (1) of subsection (a), eligible to apply for loans under part B of this title."

TITLE IV—LIBRARY AND EDUCATION RESOURCE AUTHORIZATIONS

WASHINGTON LIBRARY CONSORTIUM

SEC. 401. (a) **GENERAL AUTHORITY.**—The Secretary of Education is authorized to provide financial assistance, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to the Washington Library Consortium for the purpose of constructing and equipping a facility in Prince Georges County, Maryland, that would link by computer eight university libraries (located at American University, Georgetown University, George Washington University, Catholic University, George Mason University, Gallaudet University, Marymount University, and the University of the District of Columbia) and provide central storage for the rare books of the participating institutions of higher education.

(b) **APPLICATION.**—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is submitted to the Secretary of Education at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Secretary may reasonably require.

(c) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—There are authorized to be appropriated \$7,500,000 to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

VERMONT HIGHER EDUCATION COUNCIL

SEC. 402. (a) **GENERAL AUTHORITY.**—The Secretary of Education is authorized to provide financial assistance, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to the Vermont Higher Education Council located in Hyde Park, Vermont, for development activities for faculty at institutions of higher education which are members of the Vermont Higher Education Council designed to address and overcome professional isolation experienced by such faculty members.

(b) **APPLICATION REQUIRED.**—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is submitted to the Secretary of Education at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Secretary may reasonably require.

(c) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATION.**—There are authorized to be appropriated \$1,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

HEALTH AND HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER AUTHORIZED.

SEC. 403. (a) **GENERAL AUTHORITY.**—The Secretary of Education is authorized, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to provide financial assistance to Voorhees College, located in Denmark, South Carolina, to pay the cost of construction and related costs for a Health and Human Resources Center at Voorhees College.

(b) **APPLICATION REQUIRED.**—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is made at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information, as the Secretary may reasonably require.

(c) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—There are authorized to be appropriated such sums, not to exceed \$4,500,000, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI LAW LIBRARY

SEC. 404. (a) **GENERAL AUTHORITY.**—The Secretary of Education is authorized to provide financial assistance, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to the University of Mississippi Law School for the renovation and completion of the library facilities of the University of Mississippi Law School at Oxford, Mississippi.

(b) **APPLICATION REQUIRED.**—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is submitted to the Archivist at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Archivist may reasonably require.

(c) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—There are authorized to be appropriated \$2,200,000 to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I would like to offer a package of amendments which have been agreed to by the committee. In addition to some technical changes to the provisions on the White House Conference on Libraries, several substantive amendments are included as well.

First, the committee amendment adds \$3 million to the Constitutional Bicentennial Education Program to provide additional training for elementary and secondary teachers in the areas of history, geography, and subjects related to our Constitution. Education is the primary tool for transmitting the ideals of our society to the next generation. If our Nation's teachers do not have a basic understanding in these three critical areas, neither will our children.

Second, the committee package contains four important changes to the Income Contingent Loan Demonstration Program to enable us to get a better picture regarding whether or not such a program is viable. Specifically, the amendment: First, permits 10 additional institutions to participate in the program and allows these to include a consortia of institutions within a State; second, permits institutions of higher education to pay stu-

dents' in school interest; third, allows for program participation by professional and graduate students; and fourth, decreases the interest rate from T-Bill plus 3 percent to T-Bill plus one-half of 1 percent.

Third, the committee amendment would require guaranty agencies to share information with colleges concerning former students in default on their Guaranteed Student Loans. We have found that schools often cannot obtain the information they need to help us crack down on defaulters, and this amendment will facilitate the sharing of such data.

Fourth, the amendment corrects a technical error in the eligibility section of the Guaranteed Student Loan Program which prevents students who have returned to school to obtain State teacher certification from obtaining a student loan.

Finally, we have a series of special projects that the Committee members have agreed upon. These include:

For the Washington Library Consortium \$7.5 million. This would authorize the construction and equipping of a facility in Prince Georges County, MD, that would link by computer eight universities, including American University, Georgetown, George Washington, Catholic, George Mason, Gallaudet, Marymount, and the University of the District of Columbia. The facility would also provide central storage for rare books owned by these institutions.

For the construction of a Health and Human Resources Center at Voorhees College in Denmark, SC, \$4.5 million.

For the Vermont Higher Education Council \$1 million to establish a series of faculty development programs at the 32 institutions of higher education in Vermont.

For the construction of a Law Library at the University of Mississippi, \$2.2 million.

These are all worthy projects, and they deserve the strong support of the full Senate.

Mr. President, this amendment represents consensus by the members of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, and I offer it on behalf of myself and Senator STAFFORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 1360) was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 1361

(Purpose: To reauthorize, and make certain modifications to, the Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act of 1987)

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, on behalf of Senators CHILES, D'AMATO, and DECONCINI I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], (for Mr. CHILES) (for himself, Mr. D'AMATO, and Mr. DECONCINI), proposes an amendment numbered 1361.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the end of the joint resolution add the following:

TITLE X DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS

DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS REAUTHORIZATION

SEC. X01. Section 4111(a) of the Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act of 1987 (hereafter in this title referred to as the "Act") is amended by inserting before the period a comma and the following: "and such sums as may be necessary for the fiscal year 1990 and each of the fiscal years ending prior to October 1, 1993".

STATE PROGRAM—LOCAL ALLOTMENTS

SEC. X02. The second sentence of section 4124(a) of the Act is amended by striking out "the relative numbers of children in the school-aged population within such areas" and inserting in lieu thereof "the relative enrollments in public and private, nonprofit schools within the areas served by such agencies".

STATE PROGRAM—PARTICIPATION OF TEACHERS IN PRIVATE NONPROFIT SCHOOLS

SEC. X03. Section 4143(b) of the Act is amended by striking out "State, State educational agency, or State agency for higher education" and inserting in lieu thereof "State, agency, or consortium".

STATE PROGRAM—LOCAL APPLICATIONS

SEC. X04. (a) Section 4126(a)(2) of the Act is amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (D) through (J) as subparagraphs (G) through (M), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after subparagraph (C) the following new subparagraphs:

"(D) describe the extent and nature of the current illegal drug and alcohol problem in each school of the applicant, including detailed information that shows—

"(i) the number or percentage of students who use drugs or alcohol;

"(ii) the grade level of those students;

"(iii) the types of drugs they use; and

"(iv) how the applicant obtained this information;

"(E) describe the applicant's drug and alcohol policy, including an explanation of—

"(i) the disciplinary practices and procedures it will strictly enforce to eliminate the sale or use of drugs and alcohol on school premises; and

"(ii) how it will convey to students the message that drug use is not permissible;

"(F) describe how the applicant will monitor the effectiveness of its program;"

(b) Section 4126 of the Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b)(1) In order to receive funds under this Act for the third year of its plan, an applicant shall submit to the State educational agency a progress report on the first two fiscal years of its plan. The progress report shall describe in detail—

"(A) the applicant's significant accomplishments under the plan during the preceding two years; and

"(B) the extent to which the original objectives of the plan are being achieved, including the extent to which there has been

a reduction in the number of students who use drugs and alcohol.

"(2) The State educational agency shall not award funds under this Act to an applicant for the third year of its plan unless the State educational agency determines that the applicant's progress report shows that it is making reasonable progress toward accomplishing the objectives of its plan and the purposes of this Act. If the State educational agency determines that reasonable progress is not being made, the State educational agency shall instruct the applicant in writing to modify its plan so as to provide reasonable assurance of such progress. If after 90 days the applicant has not submitted to the State educational agency a modified plan which provides such assurance, the State educational agency may reallocate the applicant's funds to other applicants on the basis of need."

STATE PROGRAM—REPORTS

SEC. X05. Part 2 of the Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"STATE REPORTS

"Sec. 4127. Each State shall submit to the Secretary an annual report, at such time and in such form as the Secretary may prescribe, that contains information on the State or local programs the State conducts under this subtitle, including—

"(1) data on the number and characteristics of program recipients and the persons who participated in their programs; and

"(2) an assessment of the degree to which those programs accomplished their goals, including their impact upon drug and alcohol use by students."

NATIONAL PROGRAMS—GRANTS AND CONTRACTS

SEC. X06. (a) The third sentence of section 4132(b) of the Act is amended by inserting "directly, or through grants, cooperative agreements, or contracts" immediately after "shall".

(b) Section 4134(a) of the Act is amended by striking out "enter into" and inserting in lieu thereof "make grants to or enter into cooperative agreements or".

(c) Section 4135 of the Act is amended by inserting a comma and "through grants, cooperative agreements, or contracts," immediately after "Secretary".

EVALUATION

SEC. X07. Section 4132(d) of the Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "In addition, the Secretary may conduct periodic evaluations of programs authorized by this Act."

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. X08. (a) The provisions of this title shall take effect October 27, 1986.

(b) Notwithstanding subsection (a), a State educational agency may allot fiscal year 1987 funds to local and intermediate educational agencies and consortia under section 4124(a) of the Act on the basis of their relative numbers of children in the school-aged population.

Mr. CHILES. Mr. President, my portion of this amendment serves to reauthorize the Drug Free Schools and Communities Act and allow the Senate to make long term commitment to our war against drugs. I initially brought this amendment to the floor during consideration of the elementary and secondary education reauthorization bill. I deferred from offering the amendment until now, however, in

order to accommodate the managers of the bill.

Mr. President, this amendment would authorize funding for the Drug Free Schools Act at \$250 million in 1989 and "such sums as may be necessary" for the years 1990 through 1993. It extends the authority for our drug education programs as is done in the House reauthorization bill and as is done with the many other education programs in the Senate bill. I think all Senators will agree that our efforts at ridding our schools of drugs and alcohol are equally important, if not more important, than all of the valuable contributions made by our other elementary and secondary education programs. Any schoolteacher or principal will tell you that they cannot make one bit of progress in improving basic skills, or teaching English to our immigrant youngsters, or giving our kids new vocational skills, if these students are hooked on drugs.

The problem of drug abuse in our schools has not abated since we passed the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986. We are just beginning to see some positive results from this initiative. In my own State, our school-based drug education programs are now being complemented by programs sponsored by our community groups, police forces, churches and synagogues. But, since the passage of the omnibus drug bill, even newer and more dangerous threats have surfaced in our Nation's schools. In Broward County, FL, arrests of children for cocaine possession are up 120 percent and arrests of children dealing in cocaine has risen 102 percent. In 1986 the majority of crack cocaine users in Broward County's drug treatment centers were above the age of 25. This year the majority are below the age of 20. In Dade County, FL, we now have an average of two deaths a week attributable to cocaine abuse. Too many of these deaths involved school-age children or the parents of school-age children. And, in Florida this year, we have seen a frightening rise in the number of children who are inhaling typewriter correction fluid. Teachers in Florida City are confiscating these bottles of "white-out" from students as young as 11 years old.

Many of us here in the Senate still have painful memories of the administration's 1973 budget request that asked us to walk away from our war on drugs just weeks after we stood with the President and launched this bipartisan initiative. The administration asked us to reduce our overall Federal drug budget by 23 percent and our drug-free schools program was singled out for a 50-percent cut. I have met privately with Secretary Bennett and he has assured me that he will be doing his best to send us a more realistic budget request next year. For my own part, as chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee for Labor,

Health and Education, I greeted the administration request to cut funding for drug education in half by, instead, boosting funding by 25 percent to \$250 million—the fully authorized level.

I can only hope, Mr. President, that next year the administration will stand with us and not against us in this cause. Because when I ask law enforcement officials in my State, what is the most important tool we can give you in fighting the war on drugs? Whether it is a major city police chief or a small county sheriff, some say they need more men and some say they need more equipment, but they all say that we must educate our children as to the dangers of drugs. If we let ourselves fall behind in controlling the demand for drugs we will never get the drug problem under control. Currently, the Federal Government is spending about \$3 billion to control the supply of drugs to this country, but less than one-tenth of that amount to control the demand side.

Getting the demand side under control is a tall order, especially in States like Florida that serve as a point of illegal entry for the rest of the country. It is estimated that 70 percent of the cocaine in the United States enters the country through Florida. Children as young as 11 years old have been arrested in my State for smoking crack cocaine. Sixty-one percent of high school students have used illicit drugs in Florida and almost one in five have used cocaine.

Early this year the Appropriations Committee held hearings on the Drug Free Schools Act. During those hearings, Florida's education commissioner, Betty Castor, told the committee that while 64 percent of all juveniles arrested in Florida are involved in drug or alcohol abuse, the State only has resources to provide substance abuse counseling to 1 out of every 10 students that need it. She said that the funds she will be receiving from the Drug Free Schools Act would help her improve those figures, but there is no question that our States and our local school districts have a long way to go.

Perhaps the most important testimony the Appropriations Committee received this year was from students whose lives were literally saved by special drug education and treatment programs. We heard from 16-year-old Derek Dame of Jacksonville who started using drugs at the age of 8 and last year was finally able to end his addiction after spending 38 days in a rehabilitation program. We also heard from Clarence Coburn of Fort Lauderdale. Clarence was more fortunate than Derek—his path toward drugs was detoured by a successful early intervention education program. Instead of embarking on a adult life of crime and addiction, these kids are now heading into a life of self confi-

dence, pride, and accomplishment. Saving young lives is what the Drug Free Schools Act is all about. But, while it is heartening and encouraging to call attention to these success stories, we cannot forget that we still have a long way to go toward reaching all the students that need help. Many Senators will remember that when we originally passed the Omnibus Anti-Drug Abuse Act, we were criticized by some for indulging in an insincere preelection political exercise. Those critics were wrong and I believe that our continued funding commitment has proven that. Passing this amendment will show again that the Senate's commitment to fighting drug abuse in our schools is not a passing political fad.

I strongly encourage my colleagues to stand with me and support this amendment. Our war on drugs will not be a short one or an easy one, but it is one we cannot afford to lose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 1361) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended, was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment and the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, it is a pleasure to speak today in support of Senate Joint Resolution 26, the bill to authorize and request the President to call a White House Conference on Library and Information Services sometime between September 1989 and September 1991.

In fact this will be the second White House Conference to address the important issues facing our library and information services communities. I was proud to be the Senate sponsor of the first Conference that was held with great success in 1979.

It is time again to focus in a national forum on a wide range of important issues that are of critical importance to the well-being of our library community. Few will dispute how useful such a Conference can be in targeting national attention to library needs and to building broader support for improved library services.

Such a Conference is very timely as we strive to improve America's competitive standing in the international

community. Over the last decade the drastic changes in information technology have had a far-reaching impact on the way our modern society functions. We must be as sure of maintaining access to information as we are of knowing how to organize and use it.

The Conference shall be planned and conducted under the direction of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science whose responsibility it is to ensure the participation of individuals and organizations at the local, State, regional and national levels. Though the national Conference may be a few years away, it is time now for the States to begin serious planning for their own State-level gatherings at which conference themes will be developed to be taken later to the national forum.

In an effort to keep expenses to a minimum, this bill authorizes \$5 million to help fund the White House Conference. The total cost is apt to be higher, but other financial sources must be found for the balance. The future health and vitality of our libraries is certainly worth this investment. This second White House Conference will be a significant reaffirmation of our commitment to our libraries.

I commend this legislation to my colleagues, and hope that they will join me in supporting it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. President, I rise today in support of Senate Joint Resolution 26, authorizing the President to call a White House Conference on Library and Information Services. This legislation will make it possible for representatives from libraries across our Nation to meet in Washington, DC to exchange ideas about how to provide the very best library services to the citizens of our Nation.

I have been concerned in the past about spending Federal funds for a White House Conference on Library and Information Services. Libraries have pressing needs for funds to acquire new holdings and to provide services to elderly, handicapped, and other hard-to-reach citizens. It is this Senator's firm belief that our priority should be developing and extending library programs which serve those individuals who need them most. In light of this concern, the committee agreed to prohibit the use of title I funds received under the Library Services and Construction Act for purposes related to the White House Conference. This is sensible amendment and does not preclude States from using other LSCA moneys, not earmarked for direct services, for conference related events.

The Committee package also includes service amendments to the Income Contingent Loan Demonstration Program which was authorized in the 1986 amendments to the Higher Education Act. These provisions will

make the following changes in this program to benefit student borrowers: First, make graduate and professional students eligible to borrow income contingent loans. These are the students who certainly have the most to gain from a repayment program based on future income; second, lower the interest rate on ICL's from T-Bill plus 3 percent to T-bill plus 1½ percent; third, permit participating institutions to use Federal funds to pay in-school interest on these loans for student borrowers; and fourth, allow the number of participating institutions to increase to 20 if appropriations for the ICL demonstration exceed the fiscal year 1987 level. Consortia would also be allowed to apply for these additional funds.

I urge my colleagues to join me in support of Senate Joint Resolution 26.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Labor and Human Resources be discharged from further consideration of the House-passed companion measure, House Joint Resolution 90, and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The joint resolution will be stated by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 90) to authorize and request the President to call a White House Conference on Library and Information Services to be held not later than 1989, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move that all after the resolving clause be stricken and the text of Senate Joint Resolution 26, as amended, be substituted in lieu thereof.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from West Virginia.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the third reading and passage of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution (H.J. Res. 90) was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

The text of House Joint Resolution 90, as amended, and passed, is as follows:

H.J. RES. 90

Resolved, That the joint resolution from the House of Representatives (H.J. Res. 90) entitled "Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to call and conduct a White House Conference on Library and Information Services to be held not earlier than September 1, 1989, and not later than September 30, 1991, and for other purposes do pass with the following amendments:

Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert:

TITLE I—WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES

PRESIDENT TO CALL CONFERENCE IN 1989

SECTION 101. The President is authorized to call and conduct a White House Conference on Library and Information Services to be held not earlier than September 1, 1989, and not later than September 30, 1991.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CONFERENCE

SEC. 102. (a) PURPOSE.—The purpose of the White House Conference on Library and Information Services shall be to develop recommendations for the further improvement of the library and information services of the Nation and their use by the public, in accordance with the findings set forth in the preamble to this joint resolution.

(b) COMPOSITION.—The Conference shall be composed of—

(1) representatives of professional library and information personnel and individuals who support or furnish volunteer services to libraries and information services centers, from all age groups and walks of life, and members of the general public;

(2) representatives of local, statewide, regional, and national institutions, agencies, organizations, and associations which provide library and information services to the public;

(3) representatives of educational institutions, agencies, organizations, and associations (including professional and scholarly associations for the advancement of education and research);

(4) individuals with special knowledge of, and special competence in, technology as it may be used for the improvement of library and information services; and

(5) representatives of Federal, State, and local governments.

(c) DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS.—In carrying out subsection (a)—

(1) one-fourth of the participants shall be selected from the library and information profession,

(2) one-fourth of the participants shall be selected from among individuals who are currently active library and information supporters, including trustees and friends groups,

(3) one-fourth shall be selected from among individuals who are Federal, State, or local government officials, and

(4) one-fourth shall be selected from the general public.

(d) STATE PARTICIPATION OPTIONAL.—(1) State and territorial delegates and alternates to the national conference may participate in a respective State or territorial conference.

(2) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to require any State to participate in a State or territorial conference.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

SEC. 103. (a) DIRECTION BY COMMISSION.—The Conference shall be planned and conducted under the direction of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science.

(b) COMMISSION FUNCTIONS.—In carrying out this joint resolution, the Commission shall—

(1) when appropriate, request the cooperation and assistance of other Federal departments and agencies in order to carry out its responsibilities;

(2) make technical and financial assistance (by grant, contract, or otherwise)

available to the States to enable them to organize and conduct conferences and other meetings in order to prepare for the Conference;

(3) prepare and make available background materials for the use of delegates to the Conference and associated State conferences, and prepare and distribute such reports of the Conference and associated State conferences as may be appropriate; and

(4) conduct fiscal oversight activities with respect to the preparation for and the convening of the Conference including contracting for the services of an audit firm.

(c) **FEDERAL AGENCY COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE.**—(1) Each Federal department and agency, including the national libraries, shall cooperate with, and provide assistance to the Commission upon its request under clause (1) of subsection (b). For that purpose, each Federal department and agency is authorized and encouraged to provide personnel to the Commission.

(2) The Librarian of Congress, the Director of the National Library of Medicine, and the Director of the National Agricultural Library are authorized to detail personnel to the Commission, upon request, to enable the Commission to carry out its functions under this joint resolution.

(d) **PERSONNEL.**—In carrying out the provisions of this joint resolution, the Commission is authorized to engage such personnel as may be necessary to assist the Commission and the Advisory Committee, without regard for the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to chapter 51, and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

(e) **EXPENSES.**—Members of the Conference may, while away from their homes or regular places of business and attending the Conference, be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as may be allowed under section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, for persons serving without pay. Such expenses may be paid by way of advances, reimbursement, or in installments as the Commission may determine.

REPORTS

SEC. 104. (a) SUBMISSION TO PRESIDENT; TRANSMITTAL TO CONGRESS.—A final report of the Conference, containing such findings and recommendations as may be made by the Conference, shall be submitted to the President not later than 120 days following the close of the Conference. The final report shall be made public and, within 90 days after its receipt by the President, transmitted to the Congress together with a statement of the President containing the recommendations of the President with respect to such report.

(b) **PUBLICATION AND DISTRIBUTION.**—The Commission is authorized to publish and distribute for the Conference the reports authorized under this joint resolution. Copies of all such reports shall be provided to the depository libraries.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

SEC. 105. (a) COMPOSITION.—There is established an advisory committee of the Conference composed of—

(1) eight individuals designated by the Chairman of the Commission;

(2) five individuals designated by the Speaker of the House of Representatives with not more than three being Members of the House of Representatives;

(3) five individuals designated by the President pro tempore of the Senate with

not more than three being Members of the Senate;

(4) ten individuals appointed by the President;

(5) the Secretary of Education; and

(6) the Librarian of Congress.

The President, the President pro tempore of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Chairman of the Commission shall, after consultation, assure that members of the Advisory Committee are broadly representative of all areas of the United States.

(b) **FUNCTION.**—The advisory committee shall assist and advise the Commission in planning and conducting the Conference.

(c) **ADMINISTRATION.**—(1) The Chairman of the Commission shall serve as Vice Chairman of the Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee shall elect the Chair of the Advisory Committee from among its members, who are not full-time Federal employees. The Advisory Committee shall select the Chair of the Conference.

(2) The Chairman of the Advisory Committee is authorized to establish, prescribe functions for, and appoint members to, such advisory and technical committees and staff as may be necessary to assist and advise the Conference in carrying out its functions.

(d) **COMPENSATION.**—Members of any committee established under this section who are not regular full-time officers or employees of the United States shall, while attending to the business of the Conference, be entitled to receive compensation therefor at a rate fixed by the President but not exceeding the rate of pay specified at the time of such service for grade GS-18 in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, including travel-time. Such members, may, while away from their homes or regular places of business, be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as may be authorized under section 5703 of title 5, United States Code, for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

GIFTS AND TITLE TO CERTAIN PROPERTY

SEC. 106. (a) GIFTS.—The Commission shall have authority to accept, on behalf of the Conference, in the name of the United States, grants, gifts, or bequests of money for immediate disbursement by the Commission in furtherance of the Conference. Such grants, gifts, or bequests offered the Commission, shall be paid by the donor or his representative into the Treasury of the United States, whose receipts shall enter such grants, gifts, and bequests in a special account to the credit of the Commission for the purposes of this joint resolution.

(b) **REVERSION OF CERTAIN EQUIPMENT AND MATERIAL.**—Materials and equipment acquired by the White House Conference shall revert to the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science after the close of the White House Conference.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 107. For the purpose of this joint resolution—

(1) the term "Commission" means the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science;

(2) the term "Conference" means White House Conference on Library and Information Services; and

(3) the term "State" includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and American Indian Tribes.

AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS; LIMITATIONS

SEC. 108. (a) IN GENERAL.—There are authorized to be appropriated without fiscal year limitations \$5,000,000 to carry out this joint resolution. Such sums shall remain available for obligation until expended.

(b) **LIMITATION.**—Of the funds appropriated under the Library Services and Construction Act, only the funds appropriated for title III of that Act may be used to carry out the activities authorized by this resolution.

TITLE II—CONSTITUTIONAL BICENTENNIAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

TEACHER TRAINING AMENDMENT

SEC. 201. Section 501(c)(1) of the Arts, Humanities, and Museums Amendments of 1985 is amended—

(1) by striking out "\$5,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1987 and 1988," and inserting in lieu thereof "\$8,000,000 for each of the fiscal years"; and

(2) by inserting before the period at the end thereof a comma and the following: "of which at least \$3,000,000 in each fiscal year shall be reserved for elementary and secondary teacher training and retraining programs in history, geography, and other related disciplines in the social sciences and humanities designed to enhance understanding of the Constitution."

TITLE III—HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

INCOME CONTINGENT DIRECT LOAN DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

SEC. 301. (a) NEW AGREEMENTS AND CONSORTIA.—Section 452(c)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) by inserting "(A)" after the paragraph designation; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(B) The Secretary may, in any fiscal year beginning after September 30, 1988, in which the appropriation to carry out the provisions of this part exceeds \$5,000,000, enter into agreements with an additional 10 institutions of higher education. Any agreement entered into under this subparagraph may include consortia of such institutions if the participating institutions of higher education are located in the same State."

(b) **INSTITUTIONAL PAYMENT OF IN-SCHOOL INTEREST.**—Section 453(5) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) by striking out "and" at the end of subparagraph (B);

(2) by adding "and" at the end of subparagraph (C); and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new subparagraph:

"(D) at the option of the institution, payment, from the institution's capital contribution described in paragraph (3), to cover the interest that accrues on loans made by such institution to students, during the period such students are attending the institution on at least a half-time basis;"

(c) **GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENT ELIGIBILITY.**—(1) Section 454(a)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by striking out "\$17,500" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$17,500 in the case of an undergraduate student (as defined in accordance with the regulations of the Secretary), and \$44,500 in the case of a graduate or professional student (as defined in accordance with the regulations of the Secretary and including any loans from such funds made to such student before the student became a graduate or professional student)".

(2) Section 454(a)(3) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(A) by striking out "and" at the end of subparagraph (B);

(B) by striking out the period at the end of subparagraph (C) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and "and"; and

(C) by adding at the end thereof the following new subparagraph:

"(D) \$10,000 in the case of a graduate or professional student, as defined in accordance with the regulations of the Secretary."

(d) **INTEREST RATE.**—(1) Section 454(a)(4)(A) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended to read as follows:

"(A) The interest rate on loans under this part shall be computed in accordance with subparagraph (B), based on the interest rate computed for the calendar year in which the loan was made, and fixed over the life of the loan."

(2) Section 454(a)(4)(B)(ii) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by striking out "3 percent" and inserting in lieu thereof "one-half of 1 percent".

(e) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall be effective for loans made to cover periods of instruction beginning on or after July 1, 1988.

INFORMATION ON DEFAULTS REQUIRED

SEC. 302. (a) GENERAL RULE.—The first sentence of section 428(k)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) by striking out "In" and inserting in lieu thereof "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in"; and

(2) by striking out "may" and inserting in lieu thereof "shall".

(b) **CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—The second sentence of section 428(k)(1) of such Act is amended by striking out "may" and inserting in lieu thereof "shall".

TECHNICAL AMENDMENT CONCERNING TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAM ELIGIBILITY FOR GSL PROGRAM

SEC. 303. Section 484 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(1), by striking out "subsection (b)(2)" and inserting in lieu thereof "subsections (b)(2) and (b)(3)"; and

(2) by adding at the end of subsection (b) the following new paragraph:

"(3) A student who—

"(A) is carrying at least one-half the normal full-time work load for the course of study the student is pursuing, as determined by the institution, and

"(B) is enrolled or accepted for enrollment in a program at an eligible institution leading to a professional credential or certification from a State that is required for employment as a teacher in an elementary or secondary school in that State,

shall be, notwithstanding paragraph (1) of subsection (a), eligible to apply for loans under part B of this title."

TITLE IV—LIBRARY AND EDUCATION RESOURCE AUTHORIZATIONS

WASHINGTON LIBRARY CONSORTIUM

SEC. 401. (a) GENERAL AUTHORITY.—The Secretary of Education is authorized to provide financial assistance, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to the Washington Library Consortium for the purpose of constructing and equipping a facility in Prince George's County, Maryland, that would link by computer eight university libraries (located at American University, Georgetown University, George Washington University, Catholic University, George Mason University, Gallaudet University,

Marymount University, and the University of the District of Columbia) and provide central storage for the rare books of the participating institutions of higher education.

(b) **APPLICATION.**—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is submitted to the Secretary of Education at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Secretary may reasonably require.

(c) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—There are authorized to be appropriated \$7,500,000 to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

VERMONT HIGHER EDUCATION COUNCIL

SEC. 402. (a) GENERAL AUTHORITY.—The Secretary of Education is authorized to provide financial assistance, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to the Vermont Higher Education Council located in Hyde Park, Vermont, for development activities for faculty at institutions of higher education which are members of the Vermont Higher Education Council designed to address and overcome professional isolation experienced by such faculty members.

(b) **APPLICATION REQUIRED.**—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is submitted to the Secretary of Education at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Secretary may reasonably require.

(c) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATION.**—There are authorized to be appropriated \$1,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

HEALTH AND HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER AUTHORIZED

SEC. 403. (a) GENERAL AUTHORITY.—The Secretary of Education is authorized, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to provide financial assistance to Voorhees College, located in Denmark, South Carolina, to pay the cost of construction and related costs for a Health and Human Resources Center at Voorhees College.

(b) **APPLICATION REQUIRED.**—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is made at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information, as the Secretary may reasonably require.

(c) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—There are authorized to be appropriated such sums, not to exceed \$4,500,000, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI LAW LIBRARY

SEC. 404. (a) GENERAL AUTHORITY.—The Secretary of Education is authorized to provide financial assistance, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to the University of Mississippi Law School for the renovation and completion of the library facilities of the University of Mississippi Law School at Oxford, Mississippi.

(b) **APPLICATION REQUIRED.**—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is submitted to the Archivist at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Archivist may reasonably require.

(c) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—There are authorized to be appropriated \$2,200,000 to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

TITLE V—DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS

DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS REAUTHORIZATION

SEC. 501. Section 4111(a) of the Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act of 1987 (hereafter in this title referred to as the "Act") is amended by inserting before the period a comma and the following: "and such sums as may be necessary for the fiscal year 1990 and each of the fiscal years ending prior to October 1, 1993".

STATE PROGRAM—LOCAL ALLOTMENTS

SEC. 502. The second sentence of section 4124(a) of the Act is amended by striking out "the relative numbers of children in the school-aged population within such areas" and inserting in lieu thereof "the relative enrollments in public and private, nonprofit schools within the areas served by such agencies".

STATE PROGRAM—PARTICIPATION OF TEACHERS IN PRIVATE NONPROFIT SCHOOLS

SEC. 503. Section 4143(b) of the Act is amended by striking out "State, State educational agency, or State agency for higher education" and inserting in lieu thereof "State, agency, or consortium".

STATE PROGRAM—LOCAL APPLICATIONS

SEC. 504. (a) Section 4126(a)(2) of the Act is amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (D) through (J) as subparagraphs (G) through (M), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after subparagraph (C) the following new subparagraphs:

"(D) describe the extent and nature of the current illegal drug and alcohol problem in each school of the applicant, including detailed information that shows—

"(i) the number or percentage of students who use drugs or alcohol;

"(ii) the grade level of those students;

"(iii) the types of drugs they use; and

"(iv) how the applicant obtained this information;

"(E) describe the applicant's drug and alcohol policy, including an explanation of—

"(i) the disciplinary practices and procedures it will strictly enforce to eliminate the sale or use of drugs and alcohol on school premises; and

"(ii) how it will convey to students the message that drug use is not permissible;

"(F) describe how the applicant will monitor the effectiveness of its program;"

(b) Section 4126 of the Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b)(1) In order to receive funds under this Act for the third year of its plan, an applicant shall submit to the State educational agency a progress report on the first two fiscal years of its plan. The progress report shall describe in detail—

"(A) the applicant's significant accomplishments under the plan during the preceding two years; and

"(B) the extent to which the original objectives of the plan are being achieved, including the extent to which there has been a reduction in the number of students who use drugs and alcohol.

"(2) The State educational agency shall not award funds under this Act to an applicant for the third year of its plan unless the State educational agency determines that

the applicant's progress report shows that it is making reasonable progress toward accomplishing the objectives of its plan and the purposes of this Act. If the State educational agency determines that reasonable progress is not being made, the State educational agency shall instruct the applicant in writing to modify its plan so as to provide reasonable assurance of such progress. If after 90 days the applicant has not submitted to the State educational agency a modified plan which provides such assurance, the State educational agency may reallocate the applicant's funds to other applicants on the basis of need."

STATE PROGRAM—REPORTS

SEC. 505. Part 2 of the Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"STATE REPORTS

"Sec. 4127. Each State shall submit to the Secretary an annual report, at such time and in such form as the Secretary may prescribe, that contains information on the State or local programs the State conducts under this subtitle, including—

"(1) data on the number and characteristics of program recipients and the persons who participated in their programs; and

"(2) an assessment of the degree to which those programs accomplished their goals, including their impact upon drug and alcohol use by students."

NATIONAL PROGRAMS—GRANTS AND CONTRACTS

SEC. 506. (a) The third sentence of section 4132(b) of the Act is amended by inserting "directly, or through grants, cooperative agreements, or contracts" immediately after "shall".

(b) Section 4134(a) of the Act is amended by striking out "enter into" and inserting in lieu thereof "make grants to or enter into cooperative agreements or".

(c) Section 4135 of the Act is amended by inserting a comma and "through grants, cooperative agreements, or contracts," immediately after "Secretary".

EVALUATION

SEC. 507. Section 4132(d) of the Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "In addition, the Secretary may conduct periodic evaluations of programs authorized by this Act."

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 508. (a) The provisions of this title shall take effect October 27, 1986.

(b) Notwithstanding subsection (a), a State educational agency may allot fiscal year 1987 funds to local and intermediate educational agencies and consortia under section 4124(a) of the Act on the basis of their relative numbers of children in the school-aged population.

Amend the title so as to read: "Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to call a White House Conference on Library and Information Services to be held not later than 1989, and for other purposes."

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the title to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report. The legislative clerk read as follows:

Amend the title so as to read:

"A joint resolution to authorize and request the President to call a White House Conference on Library and Information Services to be held not later than 1989, and for other purposes."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senate Joint Resolution 26 be indefinitely postponed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a motion to reconsider en bloc be laid on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONFEREES ON THE OMNIBUS BUDGET RECONCILIATION BILL

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the listing of conferees for H.R. 3545 be changed to reflect the addition of conferees from the Committee on Armed Services and the changes in conferees from the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, the Committee on the Budget, and the Committee on Governmental Affairs that I send to the desk at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The list is as follows:

CONFEREES ON THE OMNIBUS BUDGET RECONCILIATION BILL

FROM THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

Senators Leahy, Melcher, and Pryor.
Senators Lugar, and Cochran.

FROM THE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Senators Nunn, and Glenn.
Senator Warner.

FROM THE COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

Senators Chiles, Hollings, Johnston, Sasser, Riegle, Exon, and Lautenberg.
Senators Domenici, Boschwitz, Grassley, Quayle, Danforth, and Nickles.

FROM THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS

Senators Glenn, Chiles, Sasser, and Pryor.
Senators Roth, Stevens, and Rudman.

ORDER TO PRINT REVISED COPY OF SENATE DOCUMENT NO. 98-150

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed a revised edition of a document numbered Senate Print 98-150, entitled "Nomination and Election of the President and Vice President of the United States, 1984," as a Senate document, and that there be printed for the use of the Committee on Rules and Administration additional copies of such document not to exceed the cost of \$600.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER TO PRINT REVISED COPY OF SENATE DOCUMENT NO. 99-28

Mr. BYRD. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that there be printed a revised edition of Senate document numbered 99-28, entitled "Senate Election Law Guidebook 1986," as a Senate document, and that there be printed for the use of the Committee on Rules and Administration additional copies of such document not to exceed the cost of \$800.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WIRTH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BYRD). The Senator is recognized.

Mr. WIRTH. Thank you very much, and I appreciate the distinguished majority leader taking over the Chair and giving me the opportunity to make this brief statement.

FORMER SENATOR GARY HART TO RUN AGAIN FOR PRESIDENT

Mr. WIRTH. Mr. President, as I think a great number of our colleagues know by now, former Senator Gary Hart announced today at noon that he was going to reenter the race for the Presidency of the United States. I released, shortly thereafter, the following statement which I want to share with my colleagues:

This morning I spoke with Gary Hart about his decision to run again for the Presidency. It is clear that Gary wants again to raise the central issues facing the United States today, including economic restructuring, new approaches to foreign policy and military reform. Few Americans are better prepared to discuss these important areas with the people of the country; issues must be the basis of any campaign.

I have great respect for Gary's willingness to take on this quest, and concur entirely with his intent and purpose of keeping these issues alive. Wren and I send our very best wishes to Lee and Gary and John and Andrea.

BICENTENNIAL MINUTE

DECEMBER 13, 1940: PROSPECTIVE CHAIRMAN WITH EQUAL SENIORITY

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, 47 years ago this week, on December 13, 1940, two Senators conducted a quiet struggle for the soon-to-be-vacant position as chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Never before had two men with exactly equal seniority contended for a committee chairmanship.

Incumbent chairman Henry F. Ashurst had been defeated for reelection to the Senate. The next most senior majority member of the committee, Matthew Neely, had been elected Governor of West Virginia and planned to resign from the Senate early in January.

The Congressional Directory of 1940 listed Senator Patrick McCarran of Nevada as the next ranking majority member of the committee. His name was followed by Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana. Both men had entered the Senate on March 3, 1933. At that time, McCarran, whose name came earlier in the alphabet, took his Senate oath several minutes ahead of Van Nuys. Both men were appointed to the Judiciary Committee on the same day, although Van Nuys' name appeared before that of McCarran on the list of recommended new members. From 1933 until 1937, the Indiana Senator was listed ahead of McCarran on the Congressional Directory's roster of committee members. Then, mysteriously, in 1938 the order of their names was reversed.

As 1940 drew to a close, Majority Leader Alben Barkley privately urged both men to settle the contest informally. Neither chose to do so. Consequently, the Democratic Steering Committee was obligated to make the choice. The committee selected Van Nuys, presumably because his State of Indiana entered the Union before Nevada. Van Nuys chaired the Judiciary Committee for 3 years, until his death in 1944. Then McCarran got his turn and served for most of the following decade.

168TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT STATE OF ALABAMA

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, 168 years ago yesterday, on December 14, 1819, Alabama became a State among these United States of America. I am proud to rise today to congratulate each Alabamian on this outstanding occasion, the 168th anniversary of our State. We have come a long way in a relatively short time. I believe that we Alabamians have more about which to be thankful than the residents of any other State in this country. I believe that we Alabamians have accomplished more than the residents of any other State in the Nation. On this, the 168th anniversary of our statehood, I hope all Alabamians will pause to survey how far we have come, and will each feel proud of the many accomplishments we have made together. And, as we look to the future, I have no doubt but that each citizen of my State is filled with the resolve and the determination that will be needed to build on our great successes.

Alabama is a State that is rich in history, traditions, and resources. We are a State that has been blessed with a tremendous physical and natural beauty.

But, as I have said on numerous occasions in the past, I believe that our greatest State resource—the one thing about which we should be the most thankful—is the good people of Alabama.

In the coming years, I believe that we have a historic opportunity to work together so that the entire Nation will see what we already know—that Alabama is the greatest State in these United States. In the coming years, as we approach our 175th anniversary, we have the potential, the resources, and, I believe, the drive to accomplish our greatest dreams and our loftiest goals. Just as individuals have made possible many of the great accomplishments we have made in the past *** people like U.S. Supreme Court Justices John McKinley, John Archibald Campbell, and Hugo Black, people like George Washington Carver, and Booker T. Washington, people like Helen Keller, Josiah Gorgas, and Wernher Von Braun *** so will people make the difference and add to the luster of our State in the future.

I am excited about our future as a State. Alabamians share many goals. We must work to attract industry and jobs, to improve the educational opportunities that are available to all, young and old alike. We must help the farmers of Alabama in their goal to feed the Nation and the world, and we must give our wholehearted support to the families of Alabama—who are the backbone and strength of our State and Nation.

I am filled with the greatest hope and anticipation as I contemplate the accomplishments and achievements that we can make in the next few years. I am convinced that it will be a time in which we will reap the bountiful fruits of combined efforts. It will be a time during which we can increase productivity, and ensure greater educational, economic, and technological advancement. It will be a time in which we can provide for the futures of our children and grandchildren. The happiness and enrichment of the lives of all Alabamians will be within our grasp.

Having said all this, I would, again like to congratulate the citizens of Alabama on their 168th anniversary as a State. We have accomplished much in these years, but I believe, and I am sure they agree, we have far to go.

Thank you, Mr. President.

CONGRATULATIONS TO TROY STATE UNIVERSITY, WINNER OF THE NCAA DIVISION II FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIP

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I am proud to rise today to congratulate the members of the championship Troy State University football team on their capture of the NCAA Division II football crown. On Saturday afternoon, December 12, 1987, the Troy State Trojans defeated the Portland State Vikings at University of North Alabama's Braly Stadium in Florence, AL, by a score of 31 to 17 to clinch the

championship for the second time in 4 years. This is indeed an honor to be enjoyed not only by the Troy State University players, coaches, and fans, but by the entire State of Alabama.

My home State of Alabama is, undoubtedly, the football capital of the world. But often, people from other States can name only two successful football schools from my State. Unfortunately, and, in my judgment, wrongfully, Troy State University is not listed with these two. Although I would wager that the players and coaches from Portland State would now list the Trojans among the greatest of Alabama football teams, I am hopeful that Troy State will begin to receive its rightful and well-deserved recognition.

The Troy State Football Team has brought great distinction to my State. I believe that its accomplishment illustrate the dedication, resolve, and will to work toward and fulfill a goal that links all Alabamians.

In closing, I wish the players, coaches, and fans of the Troy State University Football Team the greatest success in the future as they continue their quest for more championships.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that three newspaper articles describing Troy State University's great championship win be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Montgomery Advertiser, Dec. 14, 1987]

TROJANS REACH A LOFTY GOAL WITH VICTORY

(By Phillip Marshall)

They came from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and even Illinois.

Many of them walked on, determined to prove to themselves and others that they could play college football. Others wound up at Troy because they were a little too small or a step too slow for Division I.

They arrived at Troy State with little fanfare, but with a lot of hope. And they set their goals early.

Saturday afternoon, as students poured out of the stands onto the field and the band played, they knew they had reached that goal.

Portland State had been vanquished 31-17 and Troy State was the Division II national champion.

MOB SCENE

There was a mob scene at midfield at Braly Stadium. There were hugs, there were screams, there were laughs and there were tears of joy.

The seniors on this team were freshmen in 1984 when Troy also won the Division II national champion. They told the others what it was like. They showed them the way to the top.

Quarterback Mike Turk, throttling the wishbone as few men can, helped take the Trojans to the top in 1984. And his flying feet were the driving force behind their return trip Saturday.

It was a special day, the kind of day that a person relives for himself and for others as the years go by.

Troy State's football players will grow old. But always they will be able to be young again by looking back on the December day when they climbed the highest mountain they could climb.

Head Coach Rick Rhoades was an assistant in 1984. He suffered through the disappointment of a loss in the semifinals last season. But this time there was no stopping.

Troy State rolled impressively through the playoffs. When the game was on the line Saturday, there was no stopping the men in red.

WON HIS HEART

When the celebrating had finally been done, Rhoades talked in the dressing room about the players who won his heart while they were winning a championship.

"When you coach three years and just have two minor discipline problems, when they always do everything you ask them to do, when you ask them to be class people off the field and on the field and they do it . . . the list just goes on and on," Rhoades said.

"These kids just deserve so much credit. As a coach, I am very fortunate to be associated with these men."

Turk's 51-yard run with 1:43 left in the game sealed Portland State's fate. It also started a celebration on the Troy State sidelines that made Rhoades a little nervous.

Moments later, Portland State was at the Troy 25, within striking distance of a touchdown. Stranger things had happened than a touchdown and an onside kick.

"It's a tremendous thing," Rhoades said. "When Mike went over the goal line, I felt like my heart exploded out of the back of my head."

Then Rhoades told himself it wasn't over. "After I ran around for a few seconds, I got back under control," he said. "I'm paranoid about that stuff anyway. I have been since I was at Jeff Davis and we had Lanier 27-7 with seven minutes left and lost."

"I'm a firm believer that it's not over until it's over."

Troy State has ridden the wishbone to its greatest football days. The Trojans don't like to throw, but they will readily go into their bag of tricks.

They ran back-to-back reverses against Portland State. And the result was a touchdown.

"We've never felt the wishbone was a conservative offense," Rhoades said. "I've always felt like it just gives you so many options."

"We say we are going to attack the depth and the width of the field, and that's what we try to do. On the reverse, we thought it would go. It was going to be a 5-yard loss or a touchdown."

Troy State will face a rebuilding job next season. At least 13 seniors will be gone. There could be others who decide to pass up a fifth year of eligibility.

"We like to think we have other special people," Rhoades said. "There might be another Mike Turk at Troy State. That's the great thing about Division II."

Turk couldn't have played quarterback at many schools. At 5-foot-6, he was suited for little other than the wishbone. At Troy, he became an All-American.

"We know Alabama and Auburn are the big schools in the state, and that's the way it should be," he said.

"But if I had gone to Auburn, I wouldn't have two national championship rings."

[From the Birmingham News, Dec. 19, 1987]

TROY WELCOMES HOME DIVISION II NATIONAL CHAMPS

(By Jimmy Bryan)

There was no Broadway ticker tape parade awaiting Troy's NCAA Division II national football champions when they rolled into town at 10 o'clock Saturday night, but there was a pretty good little celebration anyway.

Approximately 400 fans were waiting at the Troy fieldhouse to salute two busloads of champions who arrived behind the screaming sirens of Troy's police department.

A sign was already in place, with the message "Welcome to Troy, Ala., home of the national football champions."

The homecoming was a third celebration for Coach Rick Rhoades and the Trojans, who ripped Portland State 31-17 for the championship at Florence's Braly Stadium Saturday.

Approximately 1,000 of the 10,660 at the game were Trojan fans, including TSU President Dr. Ralph Adams. They came out of the stands for the first celebration on the field and there was another at the team's Ramada Inn headquarters in Sheffield.

"It was a nice welcome home," Troy Sports Information Director Tom Ensey reported Sunday night. "Four police cars picked up the buses at the city limits and escorted them to the fieldhouse. The fans had it decorated and the stadium lights were on. Coach (Rick) Rhoades got on the balcony and told the fans they shared in the national championship, too."

"Local people who hadn't made it to the game, plus those who beat the bus back, visited with the players and coaches for about an hour. School is out for the holidays, and everybody pretty much left for home this morning (Sunday)."

Ensey said it is beginning to sink in that Troy is national champion again.

"I believe everybody realizes what we've accomplished," he added. "It's always kind of a funny feeling when the season ends. Everybody has been going full bore, and then it comes to a screeching halt."

Rhoades was asked why Troy has been able to win two national championships and finish third once in the past four years.

"I think the small town atmosphere has a lot to do with it," he said. "A lot of athletes want to play in a small town. Our geographical location is good. All the high schools around here play pretty good football. Florida is not that far and South Georgia is pretty close."

"But the guys who wear the helmets are the ones who do the job. We've been blessed with fine young men who, by and large, have done what we've asked them to do. They play full speed and play hard on every snap."

"They play the way we want them to, and that's important. If the players won't buy it, it doesn't matter what you do."

"And, of course, you have to have an administration that's supportive. We have a great administration."

Saturday's championship game was the second to be played in the Shoals area, and the sponsoring group has another year and two option years on the current contract with the NCAA, according to game chairman Grady Liles. This year's production drew raves from Troy and Portland State.

"The people here have taken Division II football to a new level," Rhoades said. "They couldn't have been nicer to us. I was

on the staff when we won at McAllen, Texas, and there's no comparison."

Troy quarterback Mike Turk, basking in the glow of his second national championship, said with an impish grin, "They put on such a great show here all week I'm tempted to say it would have been fun even if we had lost, but I'm not going to say that."

Portland State Coach Pokey Allen, former star quarterback at Utah who was MVP in the Utes' 31-6 win over West Virginia in the 1964 Liberty Bowl, said, "It's nothing against the Liberty Bowl, but they treated us better here. I don't know what the Rose Bowl is like, but I'd just as soon come back here."

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 13, 1987]

TURK LEADS TROY STATE TO DIVISION II LAURELS

A day after losing the Harlon Hill Trophy for best NCAA Division II player, Troy State quarterback Mike Turk earned a better award—the national championship.

Turk, beaten out by Texas A&I running back Johnny Bailey for the Harlon Hill Trophy, ran for two touchdowns to pace Troy State's 31-17 victory yesterday over Portland State in the Division II final in Florence, Ala. Turk also took the Trojans to the national title in his freshman year, 1984.

Turk rushed for 190 yards on 25 carries and scored on runs of one and 51 yards. The 51-yard run gave the Trojans (12-1-1) a commanding 14-point lead with 1:43 left, capping an eight-play, 76-yard drive.

SUPPORT FOR COLIN POWELL

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in strong support for the confirmation of Colin Powell to the rank of lieutenant general of the Army, while serving as National Security Advisor to the President.

General Powell is not only an able and dedicated soldier, he is an astute and wise counselor on national security policy. His distinguished service career and training make him an outstanding choice as the President's National Security Advisor and especially well qualified to hold the rank of lieutenant general.

Colin Powell is a credit to our Nation and it is with great esteem and confidence I cast my vote in the affirmative for General Powell's confirmation.

I very much look forward to working with General Powell and wish him and our President the very best in guiding our Nation through the pivotal months ahead.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Ms. Emery, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 11:04 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1860. An act entitled the "Federal Land Exchange Facilitation Act of 1987";

H.R. 2370. An act to provide for the establishment of an economic development plan for, and Federal services and assistance to, the Northwestern Band of the Shoshoni Nation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2628. An act to amend the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 respecting the importation of motor vehicles in anticipation of compliance with safety standards under such Act;

H.R. 2683. An act to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to improve security procedures, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2790. An act to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of management of public buildings;

H.R. 3399. An act to develop a national alternative motor fuels policy and to coordinate efforts to implement such policy;

H.R. 3435. An act to provide that certain charitable donations, and payments for blood contributed, shall be excluded from income for purposes of the food stamp program and the AFDC program; and

H.R. 3712. An act to designate the U.S. Livestock Insects Laboratory in Kerrville, Texas, as the "Knippling-Bushland Research Laboratory".

The message also announced that the House disagrees to the amendments of the Senate to the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 395) making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1988, and for other purposes; it agrees to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints the following as managers of the conference on the part of the House:

For the entire resolution and Senate amendments: Mr. WHITTEN, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. NATCHER, Mr. SMITH of Iowa, Mr. YATES, Mr. OBAY, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. BEVILL, Mr. CHAPPELL, Mr. LEHMAN of Florida, Mr. DIXON, Mr. FAZIO, Mr. HEFNER, Mr. CONTE, Mr. McDADE, Mr. MYERS of Indiana, Mr. MILLER of Ohio, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. YOUNG of Florida, Mr. REGULA, and Mrs. SMITH of Nebraska.

Appointed as additional conferees:

Solely for the consideration of amendments within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies, and modifications committed to conferences: Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr.

EARLY, Mr. DWYER of New Jersey, Mr. CARR, Mr. MOLLOHAN, Mr. ROGERS, and Mr. KOLBE.

Solely for the consideration of amendments within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on the Department of Defense, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. MURTHA, Mr. DICKS, Mr. WILSON, Mr. AU COIN, Mr. SABO, and Mr. LIVINGSTON.

Solely for the consideration of amendments within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. STOKES, Mr. AU COIN, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. HOYER, and Mr. GREEN.

Solely for the consideration of amendments within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on Energy and Water Development, and modifications committed to conference: Mrs. BOGGS, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. THOMAS of Georgia, and Mr. PURSELL.

Solely for the consideration of amendments within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. McHUGH, Mr. WILSON, Mr. GRAY of Pennsylvania, Mr. MRAZEK, Mr. EDWARDS of Oklahoma, Mr. KEMP, Mr. LEWIS of California, and Mr. PORTER.

Solely for the consideration of amendments within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on the Department of Housing and Urban Development-Independent Agencies, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. TRAXLER, Mr. STOKES, Mrs. BOGGS, Mr. MOLLOHAN, Mr. SABO, Mr. GREEN, and Mr. LEWIS of California.

Solely for the consideration of amendments within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on the Department of the Interior and Related Agencies, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. MURTHA, Mr. DICKS, Mr. AU COIN, and Mr. LOWERY of California.

Solely for the consideration of amendments within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. STOKES, Mr. EARLY, Mr. DWYER of New Jersey, Mr. HOYER, Mr. PURSELL, Mr. PORTER, and Mr. WEBER.

Solely for the consideration of amendments within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on Legislative Branch, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. MURTHA, Mr. TRAXLER, Mrs. BOGGS, Mr. LEWIS of California, and Mr. PORTER.

Solely for the consideration of amendments within the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on Military Construction, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. COLEMAN of Texas, Mr. THOMAS of Georgia, Mr. EARLY, Mr. DICKS, Mr. LOWERY of California, Mr. EDWARDS of Oklahoma, Mr. KOLBE, and Mr. DELAY.

Solely for the consideration of amendments under the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on Rural Development, Agriculture, and Related Agencies, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. TRAXLER, Mr. McHUGH, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. SKEEN, and Mr. WEBER.

Solely for the consideration of amendments under the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on the Department of Transportation and Related Agencies, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. GRAY of Pennsylvania, Mr. CARR, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. MRAZEK, Mr. SABO, Mr. WOLF, and Mr. DELAY.

Solely for the consideration of amendments under the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee

on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. AKAKA, Mr. HOYER, Mr. COLEMAN of Texas, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. LOWERY of California, and Mr. WOLF.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 1191. An act for the relief of Jose Maria Vas;

H.R. 1390. An act for the relief of Chu Pei Yun (Zhu Bei Yun);

H.R. 1863. An act for the relief of Helen Ying-Yu Lin;

H.R. 2121. An act to authorize and direct the National Park Service to assist the State of Georgia in relocating a highway affecting the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park in Georgia;

H.R. 2325. An act to authorize the acceptance of a donation of land for addition to Big Bend National Park, in the State of Texas;

H.R. 2416. An act to establish the Jimmy Carter National Historic Site and Preservation District in the State of Georgia, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 2689. An act to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act to authorize appropriations for the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and for other purposes.

The enrolled bills were subsequently signed by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. GRAHAM).

MEASURES REFERRED

The following bills were read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

H.R. 1860. An act entitled the "Federal Land Exchange Facilitation Act of 1987"; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

H.R. 2370. An act to provide for the establishment of an economic development plan for, and Federal services and assistance to, the Northwestern Band of the Shoshoni Nation, and for other purposes; to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

H.R. 2683. An act to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 to improve security procedures, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

H.R. 2790. An act to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of management of public buildings; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

H.R. 3435. An act to provide that certain charitable donations, and payments for blood contributed, shall be excluded from income for purposes of the food stamp program and the AFDC program; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

H.R. 3712. An act to designate the U.S. Livestock Insects Laboratory in Kerrville, Texas, as the "Knippling Bushland Research Laboratory"; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. BURDICK, from the Committee on Environment and Public Works, with amendments:

S. 1389: A bill to amend the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation Establishment Act with respect to management requisition, and disposition of real property, reauthorization, and participation of foreign governments (Rept. No. 100-255).

By Mr. JOHNSTON, from the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, with amendments:

S. 1382: A bill to amend the National Energy Conservation Policy Act to improve the Federal Energy Management program, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 100-256).

By Mr. PELL, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

S. 1614: A bill to restrict United States assistance for Panama (Rept. No. 100-257).

By Mr. INOUE, from the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

S. 1684: A bill to settle Seminole Indian land claims within the State of Florida, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 100-258).

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. BRADLEY (for himself, Mr. ROTH, and Mr. LAUTENBERG):

S. 1948. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to modify the quota on the importation of sugar; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. DOLE (for himself, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. STAFFORD, Mr. SIMON, Mr. MELCHER, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. LUGAR, and Mr. BURDICK):

S. 1949. A bill to amend titles II and XVI of the Social Security Act to ensure proper payments for reimbursement for reasonable and necessary costs of vocational rehabilitation services under State vocational rehabilitation plans; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. PELL (for himself, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. BOREN, Mr. BOSCHWITZ, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. DODD, Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. HELMS, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. KERRY, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. PRESSLER, Mr. PROXMIER, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. SANFORD, and Mr. SIMON):

S.J. Res. 232. A joint resolution to authorize the Raoul Wallenberg Tribute Committee to establish a monument to honor Raoul Wallenberg on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. BRADLEY (for himself, Mr. ROTH, and Mr. LAUTENBERG):

S. 1948. A bill to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to modify the quota on the importation of sugar; to the Committee on Finance.

SUGAR IMPORT QUOTA ADJUSTMENT ACT

● Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, I am introducing legislation to reverse a

trade policy which imperils the economic and political stability of some of our closest neighbors and most strategic allies. I am pleased to have Senators ROTH and LAUTENBERG as cosponsors of this legislation.

In many struggling democracies, sugar production is the most important industry. The sale of sugar enables them to earn the dollars necessary to buy basic goods needed to feed and house their people. In 1981, some 5 million tons of sugar was imported to the United States. Unfortunately, annual reductions in sugar quotas now allow only 1 million tons to enter the country. Recent Government estimates indicate that the sugar import quotas may reach zero within a few years. This trade policy threatens the already fragile economies of countries in the Philippines, the Caribbean, Latin America, and some of the poorest African nations.

Mr. President, the Sugar Import Quota Adjustment Act is a straightforward response to our neighbors' need. The act would fix next year's quota level as a floor on imports. Then, for each of 4 years, this floor would be raised annually by 500,000 tons. By 1992, therefore, the floor will be approximately 3 million tons per year of imports.

This legislation represents only a first step toward reversing a trend which presents a danger to both our neighbors and our own strategic and trade interests. Clearly, an end to quotas is the right solution and remains my own goal. But this legislation is a necessary step and one that's long overdue. I urge my colleagues to consider this proposal seriously and to act on it expeditiously.

● Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I am pleased to join with my colleagues, Senators BRADLEY and LAUTENBERG, to introduce legislation that will make some important and needed reforms in our domestic sugar program. Quite frankly, this bill, the Sugar Import Quota Adjustment Act of 1987, is one that will benefit the American consumer and the American homemaker. It will benefit American businesses, and it will even benefit American children, the boys and girls who love ice cream and candy bars. It will benefit all those who operate on a budget by gradually reducing sugar price supports and the artificially high prices that accompany them.

Now, it's no great secret that I am not—nor have I ever been—a supporter of our agricultural subsidy program. My record, in this area, speaks for itself, as I have consistently voted against subsidies.

This legislation is a step in this direction. It is legislation that will save our citizens billions of dollars at the grocery store as the artificially high prices, now associated with sugar, are brought down through production and

competition. At the same time, this bill will restore some semblance of balance to what has been a time bomb in our agricultural policy.

Currently, we have a domestic sugar price support program which has set a domestic sugar price of 18 cents per pound—three times as high as the world price. What has occurred is a three-tiered boondoggle. A boondoggle at the expense of the American consumer who must front the price increase, a boondoggle at the expense of the American worker who ends up losing employment to foreign competition, and a boondoggle at the expense of the American taxpayer who pays for the loans when the processors default.

It's also the taxpayer who pays for the foreign aid to help fledgling democracies like the Philippines, whose economies have been adversely impacted by America's protectionist sugar policies.

Already we have seen a loss of jobs in the United States as the food processing industry has moved from the United States to other countries where sugar can be purchased at one third the cost. Consequently, we have seen increased sales of important sugar-containing products in the United States. And without a change in the existing program these trends will continue, and the inevitable will result: Jobs will continue to be lost in our domestic food processing industry. Foreign policy will continue to be adversely affected. And our consumers—the backbone, taxpaying Americans who make our country run—will continue to front the expense of bad policy at the grocery store.

I urge my colleagues to join Senators BRADLEY, LAUTENBERG, and me in cosponsoring this important legislation.

By Mr. DOLE (for himself, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. STAFFORD, Mr. SIMON, Mr. MELCHER, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. LUGAR, and Mr. BURDICK):

S. 1949. A bill to amend titles II and XVI of the Social Security Act to ensure proper payments for reimbursement for reasonable and necessary costs of vocational rehabilitation services under State vocational rehabilitation plans; to the Committee on Finance.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION AGENCY REIMBURSEMENT ACT

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, for many years there has been a working relationship between the Social Security Administration [SSA] and State vocational rehabilitation agencies [VRA] to provide comprehensive services to severely disabled individuals. SSA, through its Social Security disability insurance [SSDI] and supplemental security income [SSI] programs pro-

vides a monthly benefit and automatic medical coverage under Medicare or Medicaid. VRA's offer a combination of services to help disabled individuals become employed.

These programs were established many years apart and in response to different needs in society.

Yet, today they work together to provide services to severely disabled individuals. This working relationship, however, is at times difficult because of the differences in authorizing legislation.

Congress established a Disability Advisory Council [DAC] to identify those problem areas and, where possible, recommend ways to eliminate them. The Council is expected to submit its report in early 1988.

One issue that will receive special attention in the DAC report is how VRA recoups the moneys it spent on rehabilitating a Social Security recipient.

Under existing law, SSA may reimburse a State VRA for the reasonable costs of serving an SSDI or SSI beneficiary when that client has worked for 9 straight months above what is called substantial gainful activity.

Two problems have arisen with this procedure. First, because Social Security has total control of the reimbursement process and determines eligibility for reimbursement on a case-by-case basis, the State VRA has no idea at the beginning of each fiscal year what its SSA reimbursement level will be during those next 12 months. This inhibits a State's planning of services to Social Security recipients. Second, in some States the reimbursement checks are sent to the State and often deposited in the general State coffers and not necessarily allocated for services to the disabled as intended.

Today I am offering the Vocational Rehabilitation Agency Reimbursement Act of 1987 to address both of these issues. Under this legislation, SSA would look back to the second previous fiscal year's total reimbursement to a State VRA and disburse that amount to the State at the beginning of the next fiscal year. For example, for fiscal year 1989, a disbursement would be given to a State agency equal to the money reimbursed to that same agency during fiscal year 1987. If the actual allowable reimbursement for fiscal year 1989 differed from the amount received at the start of the fiscal year, the difference would be made up in subsequent fiscal year disbursements. The bill would also require that the reimbursements be used only for vocational rehabilitation services.

It is my understanding that SSA has run demonstration projects along these lines and feels the proposal is worthwhile.

I introduce this bill with no expectation that it will produce a significant increase in the number of Social Security

clients who achieve gainful employment. It will, however, eliminate one more barrier to allowing the system to work on behalf of disabled persons.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1949

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Vocational Rehabilitation Agency Reimbursement Act of 1987".

SEC. 2. AMENDMENTS RELATING TO PAYMENTS FOR REIMBURSEMENT OF COSTS FOR REHABILITATION SERVICES UNDER THE OLD-AGE, SURVIVORS, AND DISABILITY INSURANCE PROGRAM.

Section 222(d)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 422(d)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

"(3)(A) Each payment under this subsection shall be made for each fiscal year in advance, in an amount equal to the amount of the reasonable and necessary costs of vocational rehabilitation services described in paragraph (1) furnished during the preceding fiscal year ending September 30 of the preceding calendar year, except that such amount shall be—

"(i) increased by the amount by which the payment made under this subsection for such preceding fiscal year was less than the amount of such costs for such services furnished during such preceding fiscal year, or

"(ii) decreased by the amount by which the payment made under this subsection for such preceding fiscal year exceeded the amount of such costs for such services furnished during such preceding fiscal year.

"(B) Each payment under this subsection shall be available only for the purposes provided in this subsection. Any balance of payment under this subsection for any fiscal year remaining at the end of such fiscal year shall be available for the purposes provided in this subsection for subsequent fiscal years.

"(C) Each payment under paragraph (1) shall be made to the State agency designated under the State plan to administer the plan or to supervise its administration."

SEC. 3. AMENDMENTS RELATING TO PAYMENTS FOR REIMBURSEMENT OF COSTS FOR REHABILITATION SERVICES UNDER THE PROGRAM.

Section 1615(d) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1382d(d)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "Payments under this subsection shall be made in the same manner and under the same requirements as provided in section 222(d)(3)."

SEC. 4. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by this Act shall apply with respect to fiscal years beginning on or after October 1, 1988, except that payments made in accordance with section 222(d)(3) of the Social Security Act (as amended by this Act) for the fiscal year beginning on October 1, 1988, and for the fiscal year beginning on October 1, 1989, shall be determined without regard to increases or decreases provided in clauses (i) and (ii) of subparagraph (A) of such section.

● Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I am pleased to be an original cosponsor of the Vocational Rehabilitation Agency Reimbursement Act of 1987. I am particularly gratified that this bill has bipartisan support.

This bill improves the ability of the State vocational rehabilitation agencies to serve clients who are receiving Social Security disability insurance payments [SSDI] or supplemental security income [SSI]. It is cost-neutral to the Federal Government. And it streamlines the Federal reimbursement to the States.

Currently, the Federal Government makes payments out of the Social Security Trust Fund to State vocational agencies only after the State agencies provide services to SSDI and SSI recipients. This process of retroactive reimbursement has made it difficult for the State agencies to know with sufficient certainty what their levels of reimbursement would be. In addition, the reimbursement is made on a case-by-case basis, thereby creating a great deal of small payments and administrative work. Unfortunately, there have been delays of up to 2 years before a State agency is reimbursed. Clearly, the present system has its flaws.

Under this bill, the Federal Government will make payments to the State vocational rehabilitation agencies on a prospective basis. The Federal payment to a State will be based on the State's most recent annual reimbursement. It will be made at the beginning of the Federal fiscal year. And it will be readjusted—either upward if the State serves a larger number of SSDI or SSI clients in that fiscal year than in the previous fiscal year, or downward if the State serves a smaller number—to take into account the actual State expenditures. In this way, the Social Security Administration will not have to collect any shortfall in Federal payments to the States.

It also requires the Federal Government to pay directly to the State vocational rehabilitation agency, assuring that there is no further delay in the agency's receipt and use of the Federal funds.

The bill makes no changes in the criteria for determining whether the State vocational rehabilitation agencies are entitled to the reimbursement.

Mr. President, this is sensible legislation and reflects a bipartisan effort to improve the important Federal-State program in vocational rehabilitation. I urge its adoption.●

By Mr. PELL (for himself, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. BOREN, Mr. BOSCHWITZ, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. DeCONCINI, Mr. DODD, Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. HELMS, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. KERRY, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr.

LEVIN, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. PRESSLER, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. REIGLE, Mr. SANFORD, and Mr. SIMON):

S.J. Res. 232. Joint resolution to authorize the Raoul Wallenberg Tribute Committee to establish a monument to honor Raoul Wallenberg on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A MONUMENT TO HONOR
RAOUL WALLENBERG

● Mr. PELL. Mr. President, today I introduce with 23 of my colleagues a joint resolution authorizing the establishment of a monument to honor Raoul Wallenberg. The cost of this monument would be borne entirely through private contributions. This bill is a companion to House Joint Resolution 403 introduced by my good friend and distinguished colleague in the House, Congressman TOM LANTOS.

It is most fitting that we honor Raoul Wallenberg in this, our Nation's Capital. In 1944, Cordell Hull requested the cooperation of the neutral Government of Sweden in protecting Hungarian Jews from Nazi persecution. The Swedish Government responded by sending Raoul Wallenberg, a young Swedish businessman, to Budapest as Secretary of the Swedish Legation.

Once there, Wallenberg carried out a relentless campaign to save Hungarians from Nazi persecution. With a selfless disregard for his own safety, Wallenberg intervened with Nazi officials to save the lives of innocent men, women, and children. Through his personal efforts, almost 100,000 people were saved from Nazi death camps.

One of those people, TOM LANTOS, captured Wallenberg's efforts most eloquently when he said:

Wallenberg has shown us that one individual—motivated by a genuine and personal concern for human rights—can face evil and triumph; that one person alone can make a difference; that there are genuine heroes to illuminate our age.

Mr. President, I believe it would be a fitting tribute to honor Raoul Wallenberg in our Nation's Capital. I urge my colleagues to join in cosponsoring the "Raoul Wallenberg Monument Resolution."

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 533

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the name of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES] was added as a cosponsor of S. 533, a bill to establish the Veterans' Administration as an executive department.

S. 863

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY] was added as a cosponsor of S. 863, a bill to provide for

the admission of the State of New Columbia into the Union.

S. 1471

At the request of Mr. HECHT, the name of the Senator from California [Mr. WILSON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1471, a bill to grant the consent of the Congress to the Tahoe Regional Planning Compact, as amended by the States of Nevada and California.

S. 1692

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the name of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1692, a bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide for the payment of a veterans' disability benefit in the case of certain veterans who have non-Hodgkin's lymphoma.

S. 1731

At the request of Mr. METZENBAUM, the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SANFORD] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1731, a bill to amend the Job Training Partnership Act to establish a demonstration program employment opportunities for severely disadvantaged youth, and for other purposes.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 169

At the request of Mr. MOYNIHAN, the name of the Senator from California [Mr. WILSON] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 169, a joint resolution designating October 2, 1988, as a national day of recognition for Mohandas K. Gandhi.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 178

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the name of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GRASSLEY] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 178, a joint resolution designating the first day of August as "National Day of Peace."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 181

At the request of Mr. WILSON, the name of the Senator from Washington [Mr. ADAMS] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 181, a joint resolution designating the week beginning February 1, 1988, as "National VITA Week."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 210

At the request of Mr. WILSON, the name of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. DECONCINI], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DURENBERGER], the Senator from Texas [Mr. GRAMM], the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. HEINZ], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INUYE], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. McCLURE], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. METZENBAUM], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. PRYOR], and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. WARNER] were added as cosponsors of Senate

Joint Resolution 210, a joint resolution to designate the period commencing February 8, 1988, and ending February 14, 1988, as "National Burn Awareness Week."

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES

PELL (AND STAFFORD) AMENDMENT NO. 1360

Mr. BYRD (for Mr. PELL), (for himself and Mr. STAFFORD) proposed an amendment to the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 26) to authorize and request the President to call a White House Conference on Library and Information Services to be held not later than 1989, and for other purposes; as follows:

On page 11, between lines 8 and 9, insert the following:

TITLE I—WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES

On page 11, line 10, strike out "SECTION 1." and insert in lieu thereof "Sec. 101."

On page 11, line 15, strike out "Sec. 2." and insert in lieu thereof "Sec. 102."

On page 13, line 13, strike out "Sec. 3." and insert in lieu thereof "Sec. 103."

On page 15, line 14, strike out "Sec. 4." and insert in lieu thereof "Sec. 104."

On page 16, line 4, strike out "Sec. 5." and insert in lieu thereof "Sec. 105."

On page 17, line 24, strike out "Sec. 6." and insert in lieu thereof "Sec. 106."

On page 18, line 10, strike out "Conference" the second time it appears and insert in lieu thereof "Commission".

On page 18, line 14, strike out "Sec. 7." and insert in lieu thereof "Sec. 107."

On page 18, line 25, strike out "Sec. 8." and insert in lieu thereof "Sec. 108."

On page 19, after line 6, insert the following:

TITLE II—CONSTITUTIONAL BICENTENNIAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

TEACHER TRAINING AMENDMENT

SEC. 201. Section 501(c)(1) of the Arts, Humanities, and Museums Amendments of 1985 is amended—

(1) by striking out "\$5,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1987 and 1988," and inserting in lieu thereof "\$8,000,000 for each of the fiscal years"; and

(2) by inserting before the period at the end thereof a comma and the following: "of which at least \$3,000,000 in each fiscal year shall be reserved for elementary and secondary teacher training and retraining programs in history, geography, and other related disciplines in the social sciences and humanities designed to enhance understanding of the Constitution."

TITLE III—HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

INCOME CONTINGENT DIRECT LOAN DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

SEC. 301. (a) NEW AGREEMENTS AND CONSORTIA.—Section 452(c)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) by inserting "(A)" after the paragraph designation; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(B) The Secretary may, in any fiscal year beginning after September 30, 1988, in which the appropriation to carry out the provisions of this part exceeds \$5,000,000, enter into agreements with an additional 10 institutions of higher education. Any agreement entered into under this subparagraph may include consortia of such institutions if the participating institutions of higher education are located in the same State."

(b) INSTITUTIONAL PAYMENT OF IN-SCHOOL INTEREST.—Section 453(5) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) by striking out "and" at the end of subparagraph (B);

(2) by adding "and" at the end of subparagraph (C); and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new subparagraph:

"(D) at the option of the institution, payment, from the institution's capital contribution described in paragraph (3), to cover the interest that accrues on loans made by such institution to students, during the period such students are attending the institution on at least a half-time basis;"

(c) GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENT ELIGIBILITY.—(1) Section 454(a)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by striking out "\$17,500" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$17,500 in the case of an undergraduate student (as defined in accordance with the regulations of the Secretary), and \$44,500 in the case of a graduate or professional student (as defined in accordance with the regulations of the Secretary and including any loans from such funds made to such student before the student became a graduate or professional student)".

(2) Section 454(a)(3) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(A) by striking out "and" at the end of subparagraph (B);

(B) by striking out the period at the end of subparagraph (C) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and "and"; and

(C) by adding at the end thereof the following new subparagraph:

"(D) \$10,000 in the case of a graduate or professional student, as defined in accordance with the regulations of the Secretary."

(d) INTEREST RATE.—(1) Section 454(a)(4)(A) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended to read as follows:

"(A) The interest rate on loans under this part shall be computed in accordance with subparagraph (B), based on the interest rate computed for the calendar year in which the loan was made, and fixed over the life of the loan."

(2) Section 454(a)(4)(B)(ii) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended by striking out "3 percent" and inserting in lieu thereof "one-half of 1 percent".

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall be effective for loans made to cover periods of instruction beginning on or after July 1, 1988.

INFORMATION ON DEFAULTS REQUIRED

SEC. 302. (a) GENERAL RULE.—The first sentence of section 428(k)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) by striking out "In" and inserting in lieu thereof "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in"; and

(2) by striking out "may" and inserting in lieu thereof "shall".

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The second sentence of section 428(k)(1) of such Act is

amended by striking out "may" and inserting in lieu thereof "shall".

TECHNICAL AMENDMENT CONCERNING TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAM ELIGIBILITY FOR GSL PROGRAM

SEC. 303. Section 484 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(1), by striking out "subsection (b)(2)" and inserting in lieu thereof "subsections (b)(2) and (b)(3)"; and

(2) by adding at the end of subsection (b) the following new paragraph:

"(3) A student who—

"(A) is carrying at least one-half the normal full-time work load for the course of study the student is pursuing, as determined by the institution, and

"(B) is enrolled or accepted for enrollment in a program at an eligible institution leading to a professional credential or certification from a State that is required for employment as a teacher in an elementary or secondary school in that State,

shall be, notwithstanding paragraph (1) of subsection (a), eligible to apply for loans under part B of this title."

TITLE IV—LIBRARY AND EDUCATION RESOURCE AUTHORIZATIONS

WASHINGTON LIBRARY CONSORTIUM

SEC. 401. (a) GENERAL AUTHORITY.—The Secretary of Education is authorized to provide financial assistance, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to the Washington Library Consortium for the purpose of constructing and equipping a facility in Prince George's County, Maryland, that would link by computer eight university libraries (located at American University, Georgetown University, George Washington University, Catholic University, George Mason University, Gallaudet University, Marymount University, and the University of the District of Columbia) and provide central storage for the rare books of the participating institutions of higher education.

(b) APPLICATION.—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is submitted to the Secretary of Education at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Secretary may reasonably require.

(c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated \$7,500,000 to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

VERMONT HIGHER EDUCATION COUNCIL

SEC. 402. (a) GENERAL AUTHORITY.—The Secretary of Education is authorized to provide financial assistance, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to the Vermont Higher Education Council located in Hyde Park, Vermont, for development activities for faculty at institutions of higher education which are members of the Vermont Higher Education Council designed to address and overcome professional isolation experienced by such faculty members.

(b) APPLICATION REQUIRED.—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is submitted to the Secretary of Education at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Secretary may reasonably require.

(c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATION.—There are authorized to be appropriated \$1,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to

this section shall remain available until expended.

HEALTH AND HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER AUTHORIZED.

SEC. 403. (a) GENERAL AUTHORITY.—The Secretary of Education is authorized, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to provide financial assistance to Voorhees College, located in Denmark, South Carolina, to pay the cost of construction and related costs for a Health and Human Resources Center at Voorhees College.

(b) APPLICATION REQUIRED.—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is made at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information, as the Secretary may reasonably require.

(c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated such sums, not to exceed \$4,500,000, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI LAW LIBRARY

SEC. 404. (a) GENERAL AUTHORITY.—The Secretary of Education is authorized to provide financial assistance, in accordance with the provisions of this section, to the University of Mississippi Law School for the renovation and completion of the library facilities of the University of Mississippi Law School at Oxford, Mississippi.

(b) APPLICATION REQUIRED.—No financial assistance may be made under this section unless an application is submitted to the Archivist at such time, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Archivist may reasonably require.

(c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated \$2,200,000 to carry out the provisions of this section. Funds appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

CHILES (AND OTHERS) AMENDMENT NO. 1361

Mr. BYRD (for Mr. CHILES) (for himself, Mr. D'AMATO, and Mr. DECONCINI) proposed an amendment to the joint resolution Senate Joint Resolution 26, supra; as follows:

At the end of the joint resolution add the following:

TITLE X DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS

DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS REAUTHORIZATION

SEC. X01. Section 4111(a) of the Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act of 1987 (hereafter in this title referred to as the "Act") is amended by inserting before the period a comma and the following: "and such sums as may be necessary for the fiscal year 1990 and each of the fiscal years ending prior to October 1, 1993".

STATE PROGRAM—LOCAL ALLOTMENTS

SEC. X02. The second sentence of section 4124(a) of the Act is amended by striking out "the relative numbers of children in the school-aged population within such areas" and inserting in lieu thereof "the relative enrollments in public and private, nonprofit schools within the areas served by such agencies".

**STATE PROGRAM—PARTICIPATION OF TEACHERS
IN PRIVATE NONPROFIT SCHOOLS**

SEC. X03. Section 4143(b) of the Act is amended by striking out "State, State educational agency, or State agency for higher education" and inserting in lieu thereof "State, agency, or consortium".

STATE PROGRAM—LOCAL APPLICATIONS

SEC. X04. (a) Section 4126(a)(2) of the Act is amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (D) through (J) as subparagraphs (G) through (M), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after subparagraph (C) the following new subparagraphs:

"(D) describe the extent and nature of the current illegal drug and alcohol problem in each school of the applicant, including detailed information that shows—

"(i) the number or percentage of students who use drugs or alcohol;

"(ii) the grade level of those students;

"(iii) the types of drugs they use; and

"(iv) how the applicant obtained this information;

"(E) describe the applicant's drug and alcohol policy, including an explanation of—

"(i) the disciplinary practices and procedures it will strictly enforce to eliminate the sale or use of drugs and alcohol on school premises; and

"(ii) how it will convey to students the message that drug use is not permissible;

"(F) describe how the applicant will monitor the effectiveness of its program;"

(b) Section 4126 of the Act is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b)(1) In order to receive funds under this Act for the third year of its plan, an applicant shall submit to the State educational agency a progress report on the first two fiscal years of its plan. The progress report shall describe in detail—

"(A) the applicant's significant accomplishments under the plan during the preceding two years; and

"(B) the extent to which the original objectives of the plan are being achieved, including the extent to which there has been a reduction in the number of students who use drugs and alcohol.

"(2) The State educational agency shall not award funds under this Act to an applicant for the third year of its plan unless the State educational agency determines that the applicant's progress report shows that it is making reasonable progress toward accomplishing the objectives of its plan and the purposes of this Act. If the State educational agency determines that reasonable progress is not being made, the State educational agency shall instruct the applicant in writing to modify its plan so as to provide reasonable assurance of such progress. If after 90 days the applicant has not submitted to the State educational agency a modified plan which provides such assurance, the State educational agency may reallocate the applicant's funds to other applicants on the basis of need."

STATE PROGRAM—REPORTS

SEC. X05. Part 2 of the Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"STATE REPORTS

"Sec. 4127. Each State shall submit to the Secretary an annual report, at such time and in such form as the Secretary may prescribe, that contains information on the State or local programs the State conducts under this subtitle, including—

"(1) data on the number and characteristics of program recipients and the persons who participated in their programs; and

"(2) an assessment of the degree to which those programs accomplished their goals, including their impact upon drug and alcohol use by students."

NATIONAL PROGRAMS—GRANTS AND CONTRACTS

SEC. X06. (a) The third sentence of section 4132(b) of the Act is amended by inserting "directly, or through grants, cooperative agreements, or contracts" immediately after "shall".

(b) Section 4134(a) of the Act is amended by striking out "enter into" and inserting in lieu thereof "make grants to or enter into cooperative agreements or".

(c) Section 4135 of the Act is amended by inserting a comma and "through grants, cooperative agreements, or contracts," immediately after "Secretary".

EVALUATION

SEC. X07. Section 4132(d) of the Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "In addition, the Secretary may conduct periodic evaluations of programs authorized by this Act."

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. X08. (a) The provisions of this title shall take effect October 27, 1986.

(b) Notwithstanding subsection (a), a State educational agency may allot fiscal year 1987 funds to local and intermediate educational agencies and consortia under section 4124(a) of the Act on the basis of their relative numbers of children in the school-aged population.

**AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES
TO MEET**

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to hold hearings during the session of the Senate on December 14, 15, 16, and 17, 1987, at 10 a.m. on the nomination of Anthony M. Kennedy to be an Associate Supreme Court Justice.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SECURITIES

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Securities of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs be allowed to meet during the session of the Senate Tuesday, December 15, 1987, at 10 a.m., to hold hearings on S. 1380, the Insider Trading Proscriptions Act of 1987, and on legislation submitted by the Securities and Exchange Commission relating to insider trading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**SUBCOMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY,
FEDERALISM, AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Government Efficiency, Federalism, and the District of Columbia, of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, December 15, 1987, at 10 p.m., to resume open hearings on the

reauthorization of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

**JIMMY CARTER NATIONAL
HISTORIC SITE**

● Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, in passing H.R. 2416, the Jimmy Carter National Historic Site and Preservation District Act, the Senate took an important step toward preserving a portion of our history.

The homes of American Presidents that have been preserved represent an invaluable resource for all Americans. They provide an opportunity to better understand the men who lived there and their families, and show us much about the times in which they lived. In preserving only the homes of major historical figures, however, we tend to lose much of the essence of ordinary life that would illuminate those times. We may not realize what made the "typical" places unique until they have been so changed that they have become unrecognizable.

As passed by the Congress, the Jimmy Carter historical site and park would serve both these important purposes by preserving the homes of our 39th President, and key sites from the past of a small Southern town. The high school and railroad depot were part of one President's boyhood, but they also represent a world that played an important part in American life for decades. Preserving them will help future generations comprehend the attitudes and actions that came out of that world.

The park and historic site are an especially appropriate way to honor President Jimmy Carter. The preservation of sites of special value to Americans was one of his priorities as President, as Governor of Georgia, and throughout his life.

He set aside more land to be enjoyed by current and future generations than any other President—56 million acres—tripling America's wilderness system. These lands contain some of the most magnificent landscapes in the world, and save irreplaceable natural systems.

Jimmy Carter also was a leader in both public and private historic preservation during his Presidency. His encouragement of private conversion and reuse of existing buildings contributed to the saving of many architecturally interesting structures that might otherwise have been lost by now. By getting Americans to take a second look before destroying older structures, he contributed immeasurably to our appreciation of the texture of our city

scapes and our architectural heritage, especially its human scale.

As President, Jimmy Carter devoted himself to peace, human rights, and the environment. The course of history will determine how much will survive of his legacy of concern for human rights and his efforts to further peace in the world. In setting aside these sites, however, the Congress has continued his legacy of providing for safekeeping places of interest and importance to future generations.●

SOUTH AFRICAN BANNING OF GOVAN MBEKI

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, on December 1, I received a letter from Pieter Koornhof, South African Ambassador to the United States. The letter opened with a passage from the Book of Ecclesiastes: "To everything there is a season, a time for every purpose, a time to live . . . and a time of peace." Apparently, in South Africa, this is the season to restrict freedoms, ban citizens, and reverse the little progress that has been made in resolving South Africa's deepening domestic crisis.

Over the weekend, Mr. Govan Mbeki, was banned. He has been confined to his home town, Port Elizabeth, and has been prohibited from giving press interviews or writing for publication. I find this action by the South African Government bitterly ironic in light of additional comments included in Ambassador Koornhof's letter. He stated South Africa was on the road to "achieving a new constitutional system in which everyone has the right to participate—as—symbolized by the release of Govan Mbeki. . . ." After 23 years in prison, Govan Mbeki was freed on November 5, only to be banned. To squash any reaction to his banning, the Government also banned a scheduled rally in Cape Town.

Yesterday, the State Department issued a statement saying that South Africa's action ". . . negates the significant goodwill Mr. Mbeki's release created in both South Africa and the international community. The prospects for peaceful negotiations in that troubled country are consequently that much diminished." The State Department went on to say, "We continue to urge the South African Government to recognize and deal with all the significant political figures and organizations that are vital to any solution of that country's problems. Detaining and restricting them is not the answer."

Mr. Mbeki's banning follows a series of actions further censoring freedom of the press in South Africa. In August, the Government imposed a whole new set of restrictions which essentially declared anything critical of the Government or its activities was

banned. These sweeping new restrictions have had profoundly negative consequences. Smaller publications such as neighborhood newsletters are prohibited from any criticism of Government sponsored day care, education, or a whole universe of activity for fear that they will be put out of business. Just as the Senate has recently condemned Panama's press censorship, we should also voice our objections to these new ruthless restrictions on freedom of speech in South Africa.

Mr. President, the actions of the South African Government over the past few months leave me with the clear impression that they are engaged in a dangerous game of political chicken. They have cynically calculated that by keeping important political figures from galvanizing action within South Africa and by keeping the rest of the world in the dark about internal events through repressive press censorship, the world will forget about what is happening in South Africa. I guess they figure that if our collective conscience is not pricked by violence captured on news footage, South Africa will fade from memory. Mr. President, as one voice in this body, I want to go on record for the benefit of those who operate under this false assumption and say we will not forget, give in, or give up.●

J.P. "PETE" STROM: IN MEMORIAM

● Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, with the sudden death of J.P. "Pete" Strom yesterday afternoon, the Nation has lost one of its great lawmen and I have lost a dear friend.

Pete Strom's career in law enforcement spanned a half century. From 1956 until his death, he served with legendary dedication and effectiveness as chief of the South Carolina State Law Enforcement Division [SLED]. Equally zealous in upholding the law and protecting citizens' rights, Pete was a talented administrator and a role model to two generations of law enforcement officers.

It is difficult, in mere words and accolades, to do justice to the accomplishments of this extraordinary public servant. Pete's authority and standing transcended politics, and it is no coincidence that he was reappointed by Democratic and Republican Governors alike. He personally built SLED into an elite investigative and enforcement agency—recognized as one of the very best in the Nation. Pete was always the innovator, revolutionizing his agency with the use of computers, polygraphs, first-rate crime labs, and modern communications. He was the ultimate professional.

Pete was always rigorously fair-minded in his treatment of suspects. His credo was,

Make sure he's guilty before you affect his reputation, his freedom, or his pocketbook. Make sure that during your investigation you always assure yourself that you are the fairest juror a suspect will ever have.

Even more important, though, was Pete's defense of South Carolinians' civil rights. Over the years, he developed a reputation as the scourge of the Ku Klux Klan. And South Carolinians will be forever grateful for his firm and fair handling of the Orangeburg riots in 1968 as well as student unrest at the University of South Carolina in 1970. Pete kept the attack dogs and the fire hoses out of South Carolina at a time when other Southern States had turned ugly.

Today, the flags are at half staff throughout South Carolina. It is a fitting tribute to Pete Strom, emblematic of our respect and our heavy hearts. I mourn the passing of wonderful friend and valued confidant.●

NATIONAL PULASKI DAY HONOREES

● Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, on October 11, 1987, the Polonia Foundation of Ohio, Inc., celebrated National Pulaski Day. As well as commemorating the death of the great American hero, Casimir Pulaski, National Pulaski Day was a day to honor and recognize three people who are dedicated to their Polish heritage. It is with great pleasure that I salute these people today.

Mary E. Pawlak is recognized for the devotion which she has exhibited in her work for the Polish National Alliance, the American Polish Women's Club, the planning of the Polish Village Project, and many other worthwhile activities. She is indeed deserving of the honor she has received.

Genevieve Lewandowski is honored for the work which she began as a child helping Polish immigrants to write letters, fill out forms, and locate families in Poland. She is also recognized for her work as a director of the Polonia Foundation of Ohio, Inc., for contributing to clubs such as the Grand Lady of the Knights of Pulaski, Union of Poles, the Polish Legion of American Veterans U.S.A., and for her volunteer work at the Wade Park Veterans Hospital.

Stanley O. Samek, is another fine example of dedication and commitment to organizations which support the needs of the Polish community. Mr. Samek is a member of a large number of organizations in addition to actively serving as secretary of the Ohio Polish American Congress, chairman of the Polish Constitution Day, president of Council 6 of the National Polish Alliance, and chief organizer and national secretary of the Alliance of Poles of America.

These three people have shown great commitment to the Polish com-

munity, as well as to the community at large. Their efforts certainly deserve great respect and admiration. I am glad to be able to honor them at this time on the floor of the U.S. Senate.●

TRIBUTE TO MRS. PATSY BURTON ON IMPROVEMENT OF TAXPAYER RIGHTS

● Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, today I wish to call attention to an outstanding citizen who has selflessly committed her time and energy to improving the rights of American taxpayers. Her name is Mrs. Patsy Burton of Baltimore, MD.

Earlier this year, I introduced legislation called the Omnibus Taxpayers' Bill of Rights Act, a bill that would guarantee the due process rights of taxpaying citizens. Today, the bill has an unprecedented 63 cosponsors in the U.S. Senate. The Omnibus Taxpayers' Bill of Rights Act has received such widespread cosponsorship largely because of the efforts of concerned citizens, such as Mrs. Burton.

Over the past few months, I have received thousands of letters from taxpayers around the country who wished to voice their support for the bill, tell of their personal experiences with the Internal Revenue Service, or make suggestions on how to improve our tax collection system. Mrs. Burton volunteered her time and helped our staff to read and compile statistics on many of these letters. Through Mrs. Burton's help, we were better able to identify the types of problems that taxpayers face and, with this information, to develop workable solutions.

I wish to commend Mrs. Burton for the significant contribution she has made to improve taxpayer rights. Mrs. Burton's commitment to protecting our American liberties is truly exemplary.●

H.R. 2121

● Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I rise in support of H.R. 2121, which is a bill of great importance to the people of northwest Georgia and a matter of great importance to me. H.R. 2121 is the proposed legislative solution to a serious growth problem along the U.S. Highway 27 corridor in northwest Georgia. This measure is also designed to address the historical significance of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park. I am delighted that the House recently passed this legislation which was authored by Congressman BUDDY DARDEN. This bill provides funding authorization for the National Park Service to assist the State of Georgia in the relocation of U.S. Highway 27. The proposed rerouting would skirt the western border of the park. This solution is a good one. The Georgia Department of Transportation (DOT) has agreed to fund 25

percent of the relocation project while the Federal Government would be expected to provide funding for 75 percent of the project, in an amount not to exceed \$30 million.

Mr. President, the passage of H.R. 2121 would represent the culmination of a number of years of effort by State, local, and Federal officials. We have also been working closely with the National Park Service officials on both the local and national levels. The proposed route is a compromise solution as the Georgia DOT had originally planned to widen the road along its present route through the center of the park. However, the Park Service was opposed to such a widening. After studying the problem for quite some time, a decision was reached last April to proceed with the initiative that is described in H.R. 2121. The consensus among all of the civic leaders was that this plan was the best solution for all those concerned. The present proposal allows for the park to continue to thrive as a recreational and historical landmark. The proposed bypass will provide for a much safer transportation system which is sorely needed. More than 15,000 commuters travel through the park daily as U.S. 27 is the only north-south thoroughfare in Walker County.

Mr. President, I wholeheartedly support this legislation and I urge the Senate to approve this important proposal.●

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum has been suggested. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WIRTH). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the distinguished Republican leader is conducting a meeting at this time and he has no objection to my proceeding.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask that morning business be closed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. Morning business is closed.

AUTHORIZING THE ACQUISITION OF THE OLD CITY POST OFFICE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BY THE ARCHITECT OF THE CAPITOL

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read S. 1947 for the second time.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1947) to authorize the acquisition of the Old City Post Office in the District of Columbia by the Architect of the Capitol.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I object to any further consideration of this measure at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection has been heard. Further proceedings at this time may be placed on the calendar under rule XIV.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I did not understand the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection having been heard to the further consideration of the bill, the bill will be placed on the calendar under rule XIV.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, on tomorrow at 10 o'clock, it will be the intention of the leadership to proceed to the House message on S. 825, the housing authorization. That is a privileged matter and, therefore, there will be no problem in going to it.

I would anticipate some debate, probably not lengthy, and a rollcall vote.

ORDERS FOR WEDNESDAY

RECESS UNTIL 9:45 A.M.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today it stand in recess until the hour of 9:45 a.m. tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REDUCTION OF LEADERSHIP TIME

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the two leaders on tomorrow be reduced to 5 minutes for each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there then be a period for morning business until the hour of 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONSIDERATION OF S. 825

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, at 10 o'clock I will ask the Senate to go to the message from the House, S. 825. That will be taken up and Senators may anticipate that there will be a rollcall vote or rollcall votes tomorrow.

I hope that the conferences can go forward expeditiously and that the conference reports on the reconciliation bill and the continuing resolution can be brought back before the Senate as soon as possible. The CR deadline will be midnight tomorrow night.

I hope we can all work together, that both Houses can work together and resolve the remaining issues on these two measures in time for the Senate and House to adjourn sine die without having to work into next week, next week being Christmas week. So we have got work to do. There will be additional rollcall votes on these measures before they are sent to the President, undoubtedly; and there will be rollcall votes on other matters.

There may be a rollcall vote in an attempt to override a Presidential veto, if that should become a reality, anent the legislation on an independent counsel. That would be a rollcall vote.

There are other conference reports that will attract rollcall votes so I urge Senators not to leave the Nation's Capital until all our work is done.

RECESS UNTIL TOMORROW AT 9:45 A.M.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move in accordance with the order entered that the Senate stand in recess until the hour of 9:45 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 1:36 p.m., the Senate recessed until Wednesday, December 16, 1987, at 9:45 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate December 15, 1987:

INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION

JOSÉ M. DEETJEN, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR A TERM OF SIX YEARS. (NEW POSITION)

AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

JAY KENNETH KATZEN, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE TERM EXPIRING FEBRUARY 9, 1990, VICE MILTON FRANK.

UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

HERSHEY GOLD, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON PUBLIC DIPLOMACY FOR A TERM EXPIRING JULY 1, 1990. (REAPPOINTMENT)

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND IMPROVEMENT

J. WADE GILLEY, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND IMPROVEMENT FOR A TERM EXPIRING SEPTEMBER 30, 1990, VICE GWYNETH GAYMAN, TERM EXPIRED.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

SUSAN WING, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE TERM EXPIRING JUNE 30, 1988, VICE MARY ANN WEYFORTH DAWSON.

SUSAN WING, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION FOR A TERM OF FIVE YEARS FROM JULY 1, 1988. (REAPPOINTMENT)

SECURITIES INVESTOR PROTECTION CORPORATION

FRANK G. ZARB, OF NEW YORK, TO BE A DIRECTOR OF THE SECURITIES INVESTOR PROTECTION CORPORATION FOR A TERM EXPIRING DECEMBER 31, 1989, VICE JAMES W. FULLER, TERM EXPIRED.

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE UNDER PROVISIONS OF SECTION 624, TITLE 10 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE:

To be major general

BRIG. GEN. JOSEPH A. AHEARN, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. ROBERT M. ALEXANDER, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. EDWARD P. BARRY, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. BILLY J. BOLES, 238-58-4132FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. LESTER P. BROWN, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. RICHARD E. CARR, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. JAMES E. CHAMBERS, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. JAMES R. CLAPPER, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. JOHN A. CORDER, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. JOHN M. DAVEY, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. ROBERT S. DELLIGATTI, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. THOMAS R. FERGUSON, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. GEORGE B. HARRISON, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. HAROLD G. HERMES, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. JAMES W. HOPP, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. FRANK J. KELLY, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. GEORGE W. LARSON, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. NATHAN J. LINDSAY, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. ROBERT H. LUDWIG, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. CHARLES A. MAY, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. GARY H. MEARS, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM J. PORTER, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. JAMES F. RECORD, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. DONALD A. RIGG, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. ALAN V. ROGERS, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. JAMES G. SANDERS, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. JOHN P. SCHOEPPNER, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. CHARLES J. SEAROCK, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM H. SISTRUNK, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. JOSEPH K. SPIERS, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. DALE C. TABOR, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. DALE W. THOMPSON, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
BRIG. GEN. WALTER E. WEBB, III, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.

THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE OF BRIGADIER GENERAL UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 624, TITLE 10 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE:

COL. HAROLD B. ADAMS, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. DENNIS C. BEASLEY, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. LAWRENCE E. BOESE, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. RALPH T. BROWNING, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. RICHARD A. BROWNING, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. EDWARD N. BRYA, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. FRANK CARDILE, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. WILLIAM E. COLLINS, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. LEWIS E. CURTIS, III, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. STANCLIL L. DILDA, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. FRANCIS R. DILLON, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. JOHN W. DOUGLASS, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. BRETT M. DULA, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.

COL. ALBERT J. EDMONDS, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. MARVIN S. ERVIN, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. JAMES A. FAIN, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. JOHN L. FINAN, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. BURCE L. FISTER, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. CHARLES E. FRANKLIN, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. BENARD W. GANN, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. TIMOTHY D. GILL, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. JAMES F. GRANT, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. KENNETH L. HAGEMANN, SR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. MILTON L. HAINES, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. LARRY L. HENRY, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. WALTER C. HERSMAN, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. ELLWOOD P. HINMAN, III, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. JAMES M. HURLEY, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. RONALD W. IVERSON, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. ARTHUR E. JOHNSON, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. ROGER A. JONES, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. JOHN P. JUMPER, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. KENNETH F. KELLER, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. JEAN E. KLICK, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. OWEN K. LENTZ, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. ANTONIO MALDONADO, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. JAMES W. MCINTYRE, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. BEN NELSON, JR., ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. PHILIP W. NUBER, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. RAYMUND E. O'MARA, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. ROBERT W. PARKER, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. JOHN F. PHILLIPS, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. ROBERT W. POEL, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. JOSEPH J. REDDEN, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. RONALD N. RUNNING, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. JOHN J. SALVADORE, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. GARRY A. SCHNELZER, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. GRAHAM E. SHIRLEY, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. NOLAN SKLUTE, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. LESTER J. WEBER, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. THAD A. WOLFE, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.
COL. WALTER T. WORTHINGTON, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ FR, REGULAR AIR FORCE.

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601, TO BE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY DESIGNATED BY THE PRESIDENT UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601:

To be vice admiral

REAR ADM. STANLEY R. ARTHUR, ~~xxx-xx-xxxx~~ /1310, U.S. NAVY.

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAPTAINS IN THE LINE OF THE NAVY FOR PROMOTION TO THE PERMANENT GRADE OF REAR ADMIRAL (LOWER HALF), PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 624, SUBJECT TO QUALIFICATIONS THEREFOR AS PROVIDED BY LAW:

UNRESTRICTED LINE OFFICER

To be rear admiral (lower half)

PHILIP SHEPARD ANSELMO
JON MICHAEL BARR
BRUCE BARTON BRENNER
WILLIAM CLIFFORD CARLSON
STEPHEN SCOTT CLAREY
WALTER JACKSON DAVIS, JR.
WILLIAM ANTHONY EARNER, JR.
JAMES RICHARD FITZGERALD
WILLIAM JOHN FLANAGAN, JR.
DAVID EUGENE FROST
ALVARO RAYMOND GOMEZ

THOMAS FORREST HALL
JOHN TIMOTHY HOOD
KARL LEE KAUP
JAMES RICHARD LANG
JOHN BAPTISTE LAPLANTE
CONRAD C. LAUTENBACHER, JR.
JOHN ALDEN MORIARTY
PAUL WHITNEY PARCELLS
JAMES WOOD PARTINGTON
PHILIP MICHAEL QUAST
JOHN SCOTT REDD
THOMAS DAVID RYAN
LUTHER FREDERICK SCHRIEFER
RALPH LAWRENCE TINDAL
PAUL EDWARD TOBIN, JR.
WILLIAM LANSING VINCENT
GEORGE RHODES WORTHINGTON
TIMOTHY WAYNE WRIGHT
RONALD JOSEPH ZLATOPER

RESTRICTED LINE OFFICER—ENGINEERING DUTY
OFFICER

To be rear admiral (lower half)

MILLARD HERWOOD FIREBAUGH
DEAN SHAW HINES

AERONAUTICAL ENGINEERING DUTY OFFICER

To be rear admiral (lower half)

ROBERT GLEN HARRISON

SPECIAL DUTY OFFICER (CRYPTOLOGY)

To be rear admiral (lower half)

ISAIAH CLAWSON COLE

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR PERMANENT PROMOTION IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE, UNDER THE APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 624, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, AS AMENDED, WITH DATES OF RANK TO BE DETERMINED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE.

LINE OF THE AIR FORCE

To be major

RANDY D. ABELE, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT A. ABOE, xxx-xx-xxxx
EDWIN J. ABREU, xxx-xx-xxxx
ABEL ABUNDEZ, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN J. ADAIR, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
CRAIG F. ADAMS, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID G. ADAMS, xxx-xx-xxxx
WARREN R. ADAMS, xxx-xx-xxxx
FREDERICK W. ADRIANCE, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT D. ADSIT, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONALD F. AIKEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN P. ALBERT, xxx-xx-xxxx
VINCENT L. ALBERT, xxx-xx-xxxx
EDWARD T. ALEXANDER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY R. ALEXANDER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH P. ALFANO, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH M. ALICEA, xxx-xx-xxxx
BENJAMIN S. ALLEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
JERRY L. ALLEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL L. ALLEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
PHILIP B. ALLEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS E. ALLEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
DEAN S. ALLRED, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD L. ALMEIDA, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN R. ALSBROOKS, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM E. AMERINE, xxx-xx-xxxx
DWIGHT C. AMES, xxx-xx-xxxx
RONALD E. AMICK, xxx-xx-xxxx
MELVIN R. ANDERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID N. ANDERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONALD J. ANDERSON, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
FRANK E. ANDERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN M. ANDERSON, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH A. ANDERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL R. ANDERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
REX ALLAN ANDERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
STERLING S. ANDERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN D. ANDREWS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN M. ANDREWS, xxx-xx-xxxx
LAURENS F. ANDREWS, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM F. ANDREWS, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN G. ANDRUSYSZYN, xxx-xx-xxxx
CONSTANTINE ANNINOS, xxx-xx-xxxx
LAWRENCE N. APPEL, xxx-xx-xxxx
ALVIN N. ARAMBURG, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY R. ARCHAMBEAULT, xxx-xx-xxxx
GILBERT D. ARMOUR, xxx-xx-xxxx
CURTIS A. ARMSTRONG, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN C. ARMSTRONG, xxx-xx-xxxx
ALEXANDER J. ARNISTA, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT M. ARNOLD, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT G. ARNANT, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH M. ARRISI, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARY C. ARRISI, xxx-xx-xxxx
EVAN H. ASHBY, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANA T. ATKINS, xxx-xx-xxxx
EARL C. ATKINSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JUDY A. ATKINSON-KIRK, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN L. ATTARD, xxx-xx-xxxx
INGELORE AUER, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD A. AUDELO, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM N. AUDENAERT, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD A. AUGSBURGER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK R. AVERY, xxx-xx-xxxx

JOHN W. AYERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
EUGENE R. BACA, xxx-xx-xxxx
BLAINE L. BACHUS, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEPHEN R. BACK, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHARLES BAILEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
KARLA S. BAILEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH G. BAILLARGEON, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
HENRY D. BAIRD, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
BEVERLEY J. BAKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES F. BAKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JON R. BAKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL T. BAKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
VIRGINIA E. BAKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM E. BAKER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
MILTON G. BALANCHIERE, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
DOUGLAS M. BALL, xxx-xx-xxxx
GEORGE W. BALLINGER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
DOUGLAS A. BANKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID C. BANNERMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
PHILIP W. BARBEE, xxx-xx-xxxx
RUSSELL C. BARBERO, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT E. BARCLAY, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH D. BARKER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT D. BARKER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT E. BARKER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM D. BARKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
GEORGE G. BARR, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN W. BARR, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID K. BARRETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN A. BARRETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS A. BARRETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT W. BARTHELMLESS, xxx-xx-xxxx
RAY H. BARTLETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT BARTOLONE, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONALD E. BARWICK, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEPHEN J. BASE, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL J. BASLA, xxx-xx-xxxx
FRANK T. BASS, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT A. BATCHELOR, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN L. BATDORFF, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES A. BATES, xxx-xx-xxxx
FRANK W. BATTEAS, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROGER L. BAUCUM, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH M. BAUDENDISTEL, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM L. BAUERLE, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL W. BAUGH, xxx-xx-xxxx
HAROLD J. BAUGH, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES D. BAUGHMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID L. BAUMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN N. BAUMGARTNER, xxx-xx-xxxx
BARRY D. BAXLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
COY S. BAXLEY, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
DENNIS A. BAXTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM K. BAXTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES L. BEACH, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL R. BEACH, xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY L. BEACHAM, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT F. BEAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANDREW R. BEASLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES D. BEASON, xxx-xx-xxxx
ALAN M. BECKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRUCE W. BECKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
LARRY J. BECKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID R. BEECROFT, xxx-xx-xxxx
DOUGLAS W. BEIDLER, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL W. BEKEBREDE, xxx-xx-xxxx
ARTHUR BELAIR, xxx-xx-xxxx
SYLVESTER A. BELCHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
BERNARD E. BELDIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN S. BELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
DENNIS E. BELLAMY, xxx-xx-xxxx
RONALD K. BELTZ, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL J. BELZIL, xxx-xx-xxxx
ALLEN W. BENELLI, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANTHONY BENEVENTO, xxx-xx-xxxx
PHILIP E. BENNER, xxx-xx-xxxx
CATHERINE A. BENNETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
KRISTEN K. BENNETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROY E. BENTKOWSKI, xxx-xx-xxxx
SUSAN M. BEREHULKA, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK H. BERNER, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHARLES K. BEST, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES F. BETSCHAT, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES M. BETTES, xxx-xx-xxxx
GEOFFREY S. BIALAS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES R. BIERNESSE, xxx-xx-xxxx
A. C. BIERSEBACH, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL E. BIGELOW, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRUCE G. BILLIG, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL J. BILLINGS, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID F. BIRD, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
ELIZABETH Y. BIRDSALL, xxx-xx-xxxx
GREGORY H. BISHOP, xxx-xx-xxxx
JIMMY F. BLACK, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
LYNN M. BLACK, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROCKY L. BLACKWELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES A. BLACKWOOD, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
GENE E. BLAIR, xxx-xx-xxxx
PATRICIA A. BLAIR, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEPHEN M. BLAKEMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL E. BLAYLOCK, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT D. BLEVINS, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID M. BLIZZARD, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM E. BLOCKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT J. BLOEMER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY A. BLOHM, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN P. BLOOM, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT A. BLOUIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
SCOTT W. BLUE, xxx-xx-xxxx
GENE A. BOEDIGHEIMER, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID E. BOGGIE, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
PATRICIA S. BOGGS, xxx-xx-xxxx

DONALD J. BOHAC, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL H. BOHUN, xxx-xx-xxxx
SUSAN H. BOMALASKI, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS B. BONKOFSKY, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK E. BONTRAGER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL W. BOONEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID R. BOOZER, xxx-xx-xxxx
GEORGE G. BORDON, xxx-xx-xxxx
SCOTT K. BORGES, xxx-xx-xxxx
CLAYTON D. BOSLER, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN S. BOSTICK, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES O. BOTHWELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN W. BOUCHARD, xxx-xx-xxxx
VINCENT C. BOUDREAUX, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES W. BOUGHMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH R. BOULEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEITH E. BOULWARE, xxx-xx-xxxx
CYNTHIA A. BOURNE, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN M. BOWER, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONALD B. BOWERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
RONALD E. BOWLIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY L. BOWLING, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHARLES T. BOWMAN, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID P. BOYARSKI, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHARLES L. BOYLE, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK D. BRACKEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID S. BRACKETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
JACK L. BRADLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
LANCE P. BRADLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
RAY T. BRADLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN E. BRADY, xxx-xx-xxxx
CLAUDE C. BRALEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD A. BRANDICH, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM A. BRANDON, xxx-xx-xxxx
KURT M. BRANDT, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM M. BRANTLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL R. BRASHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
PHILIP M. BREEDLOVE, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN V. BREINER, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID R. BRETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN B. BREWER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES H. BRIDGMAN, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES P. BRIGGS, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
DARYL C. BRIGHT, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH A. BRIGHT, xxx-xx-xxxx
GAYLA J. BRILES, xxx-xx-xxxx
HENRY D. BRINKMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
GENE A. BRITT, xxx-xx-xxxx
SHEILA B. BROCKI, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRUCE K. BROOKS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES J. BROOKS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN W. BROOKS, xxx-xx-xxxx
HAROLD M. BROTH, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID R. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID S. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
DEBORAH A. C. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONELL BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
GREGORY M. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
JANICE H. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY C. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
TERRY D. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
LARRY S. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
LAVELL W. BROWN, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARY R. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
PATRICK J. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
RALPH W. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROY G. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN W. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIMOTHY M. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
CURTIS M. BROWNING, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD L. BROZOVIC, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK E. BRUGGEMEYER, xxx-xx-xxxx
THAD BRUMFIELD, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
TIMOTHY O. BUCHANAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHARLES L. BUCKINGHAM, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM J. BUCKLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY BUCKMELTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL J. BUDD, xxx-xx-xxxx
RONALD P. BUETTNER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JUAN A. BUJOSA, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES A. BULLARD, xxx-xx-xxxx
DOUGLAS D. BULLOCK, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH J. BULMER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
ROSAURO BUNDA, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL M. BUNNING, xxx-xx-xxxx
HOWARD W. BUNTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN A. BURD, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRUCE E. BURDA, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARCUS L. BURGHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK E. BURKS, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL F. BURKS, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM O. BURLESON, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL E. BURLEW, xxx-xx-xxxx
ALBERT F. BURNETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT C. BURRITT, xxx-xx-xxxx
FRANK L. BURTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES T. BURTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN D. BUSCH, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOAN H. BUSS, xxx-xx-xxxx
GAROLD R. BUTDORF, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHERYL A. BUTLER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH S. BUTLER, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT F. BYRD, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD G. BYRNES, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT B. CABELL, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
DALE W. CAFFERATA, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES T. CALLENDER, xxx-xx-xxxx
RONALD J. CALLOWAY, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN J. CALT, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD A. CALTABELLOTTA, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN E. CAMERON, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHRISTOPHER D. CAMPBELL, xxx-xx-xxxx

DAVID C. CAMPBELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 DEBORAH L. CAMPBELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 DONALD E. CAMPBELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 DOUGLAS N. CAMPBELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 PARNELL M. CAMPBELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 TED R. CAMPBELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 JEFFREY L. CAMPS, xxx-xx-xxxx
 STEVEN A. CANTRELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 STEVEN R. CAPEHART, xxx-xx-xxxx
 ERIC H. CAPPEL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 JERRY W. CARBAUGH, xxx-xx-xxxx
 STEVEN D. CAREY, xxx-xx-xxxx
 THOMAS S. CARMICHAEL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 ALLARD R. CARNEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
 GERARD JOHN CARON, xxx-xx-xxxx
 FLOYD L. CARPENTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
 MICHAEL R. CARPENTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
 THOMAS J. CARPENTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
 NIDIA S. CARRERO, xxx-xx-xxxx
 JAMES P. CARRIE, xxx-xx-xxxx
 LANCE T. CARROLL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 JAMES F. CARTER, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
 RODGER E. CARTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
 CATHY A. CASEMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
 DONALD J. CASEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
 JOHN F. CASEY, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
 MARK D. CASHIO, xxx-xx-xxxx
 ANTHONY CASILLANO, xxx-xx-xxxx
 LEROY A. CASSEL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 FRANK J. CASSERINO, xxx-xx-xxxx
 MARK S. CASTELLANI, xxx-xx-xxxx
 SUE T. CAUDILL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 SYER S. CAUDILL, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
 BRUCE E. CAUGHMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
 JAMES M. CERNEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
 ANTHONY N. CERVONE, xxx-xx-xxxx
 DAVID R. CHAFFEE, xxx-xx-xxxx
 JAMES C. CHAMBERLAIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
 JOYCE E. CHAMBERLAIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
 ELIA C. CHAMBERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
 JAMES D. CHAMBERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
 MICHAEL N. CHAMBERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
 GARY P. CHAMPION, xxx-xx-xxxx
 LESLIE L. CHAPMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
 MARK D. CHAPMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
 PHILIP W. CHAPMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
 SUZANN CHAPMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
 WILLIAM E. CHAPPEL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 STEVEN R. CHARLES, xxx-xx-xxxx
 HOWARD A. CHARLTON, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
 PHILIP R. CHARNEKIE, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
 MANUEL A. CHAVES, xxx-xx-xxxx
 DULLIVAN C. CHAVIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
 RICHARD W. CHAVIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
 GORDON P. J. CHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
 BRUCE G. CHICHESTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
 STEPHEN P. CHILDERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
 THOMAS A. CHILDRESS, xxx-xx-xxxx
 KURT A. CICHOWSKI, xxx-xx-xxxx
 MICHAEL CIMAFONTE, xxx-xx-xxxx
 KENNETH A. CINAL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 STEPHEN F. CINICAL, xxx-xx-xxxx
 ANTHONY A. CIOCCA, xxx-xx-xxxx
 ROBERT A. CIOLA, xxx-xx-xxxx
 DOLPHUS T. CLARK, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
 OTIS F. CLARK, xxx-xx-xxxx
 ROBERT S. CLARK, xxx-xx-xxxx
 TERRANCE J. CLARK, xxx-xx-xxxx
 STEVEN F. CLARKE, xxx-xx-xxxx
 ROBERT S. CLEGG, xxx-xx-xxxx
 ROY A. CLELAND, xxx-xx-xxxx
 NICHOLAS J. CLEMENS, xxx-xx-xxxx
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CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate December 15, 1987:

UNITED NATIONS

PEARL BAILEY, OF ARIZONA, TO BE A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE FORTY-SECOND SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

MARK D. SILJANDER, OF MICHIGAN, TO BE AN ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE FORTY-SECOND SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE ABOVE NOMINATIONS WERE APPROVED SUBJECT TO THE NOMINEES' COMMITMENT TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS TO APPEAR AND TESTIFY BEFORE ANY DULY CONSTITUTED COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE.